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THE
COMPLETE WORKS OF GEORGE HERBERT.

VOL. III. PROSE.

WALTON'S LIFE OF HERBERT; WITH APPENDICES AND NOTES.
A PRIEST TO THE TEMPLE, AND PRAYERS; WITH APPENDICES.

(a) A VIEW OF THE LIFE AND VIRTUES OF THE AUTHOR AND
EXCELLENCIES OF THIS BOOK, BY ARCHDEACON OLEY;

(b) PREFACE TO THE CHRISTIAN READER (IBID.);

(c) ADVERTISEMENT (IBID.); (d) NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

LETTER TO NICHOLAS FERRAR ON VALDESSO'S

DIVINE CONSIDERATIONS; WITH NOTES ON THE CONSIDERATIONS.

CORNARUS ON TEMPERANCE AND SOBRIETY, TRANSLATED

BY HERBERT.

MACULA PUDENTUM; OR OUTLANDISH PROVERBS, SENTENCES, &c.

ORATIONS IN LATIN; TRANSLATED.

COLLECTED LETTERS: LATIN TRANSLATED.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.



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Joseph Spilston.

"A good name is better than riches, and a good name is better than riches."

Proverbs 22:1. J. Spilston

The Fuller Northies' Library.

THE COMPLETE WORKS

IN VERSE AND PROSE

OF

GEORGE HERBERT.

FOR THE FIRST TIME FULLY COLLECTED AND COLLATED WITH
THE ORIGINAL AND EARLY EDITIONS AND MSS.,
AND MUCH ENLARGED WITH

- I. HITHERTO UNPRINTED AND UNEDITED POEMS AND PROSE FROM
THE WILLIAMS MSS. ETC.
- II. TRANSLATION OF THE WHOLE OF THE LATIN AND GREEK VERSE
AND LATIN PROSE.
- III. MEMORIAL-INTRODUCTION, ESSAY ON LIFE AND WRITINGS, AND
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.
- IV. IN QUARTO, PORTRAITS ON STEEL, AND OTHER SPECIALLY-
PREPARED ILLUSTRATIONS AND FACSIMILES.

Edited by the

REV. ALEXANDER B. GROSART,

ST. GEORGE'S, BLACKBURN, LANCASHIRE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III. PROSE.

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION.

1874.

The Temple Classics.

BRINSLEY NICHOLSON, Esq., M.D.,
WOODLAND HOUSE, GODFREY,
DEPUTY INSPECTOR GENERAL IN THE ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT,
LONDON.

THE
LIBRARY OF
THE
MUSEUM OF
COMPARATIVE ZOOLOGY
OF GEORGE HERBERT,
AS A MEMORIAL OF
VERY PLEASANT LITERARY CORRESPONDENCE AND
UNITED RESEARCH IN AND CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF
OUR ELDER LITERATURE
BY
ALEXANDER LEITCH GOSWAMI

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PREFACE.

I HAVE the satisfaction of furnishing in the present considerable volume as complete a collection of the PROSE WRITINGS of GEORGE HERBERT as in Vols. I. and II. it was my privilege to do of his Verse; while in an accompanying volume there is given a more accurate edition than any hitherto of Christopher Harvey's 'Synagogue, or Shadow of The Temple,' which the usage and reverence of fully two hundred and thirty years have associated with 'The Temple,' together with his vivid and memorable sacred poems in the same vein entitled 'Schola Cordis.'

Our text of the Prose, as of the Verse, is a reproduction in integrity of the original and early editions—these and mss. having been carefully collated and re-collated. The Life of Herbert by Walton, and 'A Priest to the Temple,' and indeed all, have suffered from the tinkering and so-called 'improvements' of early and recent editors. These have been removed inexorably. Prefixed to each portion is a Note giving account of its source; and connected Notes and Illustrations everything else requiring it will be found it is believed adequately noticed. The Orations and Latin Letters have been translated *for the first time* herein; and I owe this additional kindness to my excellent friend the Rev. RICHARD WALTON, M.A., of London, to whom the task was so ungratefully bestowed.

irksome one, but was undertaken and has been 'done' as a 'labour of love.'

The Illustrations (in quarto form) cannot fail to prove acceptable. The steel-plate Portrait of Izaak Walton, after the original by Housman, first engraved for Sir Harris Nicolas's sumptuous edition of 'The Complete Angler' (Pickering), seemed to me somewhat heavy and opaque. Accordingly, instead of accepting Messrs. Routledge's generous offer of a sufficient number of impressions from that engraving, I deemed it preferable to have the noble head of 'meek Walton' engraved afresh for myself. The result makes me rejoice that I so decided. The others—anastatic etchings—speak for themselves.

I would now and here make an important correction of a biographical date, that henceforward the error may be put right. In Vol. I. p. lxiii. (footnote) I promised to investigate the hitherto accepted date of Herbert's death or rather interment, '3d day of March 1632.' I was led to doubt this from three things: (*a*) the date of the Letter to Nicholas Ferrar on Valdesso, which is '29th September 1632'; (*b*) the Will of Dorothy Vaughan, daughter of Herbert's sister Margaret, and so his niece, which was 'proved' in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 9th October 1632 by George Herbert as the appointed executor, who had been 'sworn' by commission before Nathaniel Bostocke, Clerk—Herbert's curate—the 'commission' being accounted for, no doubt, by the fragility of the executor's health; (*c*) Herbert's own Will, wherein a legacy to himself of 100*l.* by his niece is disposed of as being in his possession. It is clear as day from these later dates in 1632, that '3d March 1632' means our 1633. The accepted date of 1632 originated with the Bemer-ton Register entry. For reasons that will appear immediately, the entries preceding and succeeding, and the entry of Herbert's interment itself, are given *verbatim et*

Ann 1633

Buried was the widow Smith 5 of February
William Ellyott the younger was buried viij March
Mr. George Herbert Esqr Parson of Fugglestone
and Bemerton buried the 3d day of
March 1632
Richard Pirmmett was buried
xxij of June
An. Dom.

1634 Edith Bacon the wife of
John Bacon was buried iij January
1634

A glance at these entries shows that they were made irregularly, as probably suited the writer's memory or convenience; and though apparently he used to reckon as a rule from January to January, the old scribe in adding the year in the Herbert entry seems to have slid into the old mode of reckoning from 25th March, whereby our 3d March 1633 would be 3d March 1632. It will be noticed that in addition to all this, as Edith Bacon's burial belongs to 1634, the presumption would have been that Herbert's and Pirmmett's belonged to the immediately preceding year, *i.e.* 1633, while Herbert's follows one belonging to 1633, not 1632.

There is no date in the Bodleian or Williams mss., and the ms. date of 1632, inserted in the undated edition of 'The Temple,' does not conflict with the printed one of 1633, if the double reckoning he regarded—that is, that it would be 1632 up to 25th March, or some weeks after his death. These facts of the latter date to Nicholas Ferrar, and the 'proving' of the Will of his niece, and disposal of the received legacy, render 3d March 1632 an impossibility. It is unfortunate that neither Dorothy Vaughan's Will nor Herbert's is dated, the latter being simply 'A. D. 1632,' and proved 12th March 1632, *i.e.* 1632-3, or in modern chronology 1633; but that we must place Herbert's death at end of February or on 1st March 1633

there can be no question now. Further, Walton was mistaken in stating that the 'three nieces' were with Herbert at the time of his death. Two were, but Dorothy, as above, predeceased him.

Another matter seems worthy of being preserved, viz. that contemporaneously with Herbert's composition of his 'Priest to the Temple' or 'Country Parson,' Thomas Nash ('Philopolitem') had in the press his 'Qvaternio or a Fovre-fold Way to a Happie Life; set forth in a Dialogue betweene a Countryman and a Citizen, a Divine and a Lawyer;' wherein is given such a portraiture of a genuine 'Country Parson' as must have drawn forth Herbert's praise and gratitude. The date on the title-page of this rare and all but unknown quarto is 1633; but it is possible, and I think probable, that it may have been issued in 1632. I say so, because throughout there are constantly occurring things that recall parallels in *The Church Porch* and in the 'Priest to the Temple,' as it were easy to show. I cannot deny myself the pleasure of reproducing a pretty long extract from the description of the 'Country Parson,' as follows:

'You . . . say that in your city you haue more con-
duits, ten for one, to convey comfort to the soule than we
haue in the country. I grant it; but take this with you,
that as one good horse is to be preferred before ten restie
jades, one good hawke before ten bangling buzzards, one
true hunting dog before ten stragling cures, so one
learned painefull pastor before ten ignorant careles ones.
It is true in our great parish wee haue but one, but such
a one as I dare compare to ten of yours, being learned,
sober, and honest, and which doth adde a lustre to them
all, as hospitable as his meanes will giue him leaue, yet
hating tippling as the bane of religion; he preacheth
duely once a weeke, every Sabbath in the morning, cate-
chiseth in the afternoone. Yea, indeede he preacheth
every day in the weeke, yea, every houre in the day, every

action of his being a precept vnto vs, every word an oracle : what he saith at the table we belieue as if we heard him in the pulpit, so faithfull is he in his words, so honest and just in his conversation. Once a yeare he taketh an occasion to performe his filiall rights vnto his father, and to absent himselfe from vs for the space of some few weekes ; during all which time every houre seemes a day and every day a moneth to vs his parishioners, no man enjoying himselfe because they cannot enjoy him : and at his returne, happie is the man that can haue the honour first to entertaine him. And, indeede, I dare say there is no loue lost, and that our longing is not so much after him as his is after vs, so happie are wee in him for our soules' health. So that we finde it verified in him that it is not the multitude of shepheards which make the sheepe thrine, but the diligence of the shepheards to whom the floeke are committed ; and the more sensible are wee of this our happines in this our pastor, by reason we see in what discontentments our neighbouring parishioners liue in : what suits and contentions are between their pastor and them ; how often he comes and sends for an egge or an apple, and will rather loose the best of his parish than loose one of them, vpon this pretence that he hath a familie, and " he that provides not for it is worse than an infidell : " though indeede the provision be for the patron, who did not giue but grant (beshrow him for it!) that which he should haue given, of which they his parishioners are too sensible, and grone vnder the burthen of it, having the same measure measured vnto them as the patron measured vnto him. Whereas we never heare of any such thing : those poore " tythes of mynt and cummin " our pastor looks not after, onely desires an acknowledgement of his right vnto them ; which we most willingly condescend vnto ; and thereby he looseth nothing : for whereas there is but one often due to him, wee doe requite him for those small courtesies ten for one, and more wee would doe

if he would accept it; so doth he winne vs by his sweete and affable conversation among vs. Marry, I know not what he would doe if he had such a familie, or patron, as our neighbouring parishioners say their pastor hath. But indeed he hath no other spouse then the Church, nor other children then the poore, for whom hee doth as carefully provide as if shee lay in his bosome and [they] were the naturall-begotten children of his own body. And as for our church, I dare compare it with your mother-church in your metropolis: that shee [St. Paul's] is not so beautified without nor adorned within as our little parish-church is. No sooner can a storme deface any part of it, but every one runs as readily to repayre it as to extinguish a fire; no sooner can age seize vpon it but every one addes-to a pillar to support it; no sooner can a mote come into her glassie eyes, but every man is readie to pull it out; we deferre not the time yntill it be too late. When sight is gone, there is no neede of an oculist; when death hath levelled the body with the dust, no vse of the physician. Wherefore wee kill the cocatrice whilst it is but an egge, and quench the flame whilst it is but a sparke: we suffer not her dores at all houres in the day to lye open, neither will we admit her to be a throw fare for every man to passe. It was not instituted for the peripateticke to measure his paces in, nor for the broker to make it his rendvous; if they come there at the time of divine service and tread vpon it as vpon holy ground, there they are admitted; if not, there is no place for them. So carefull are wee of our little parish-church' (pp. 19-21).

Further, with reference to the fine close of *The Church Porch*:

'If thou do ill, the joy fades, not the pain;

If well, the pain doth fade, the joy remains. (st. lxxvii.)

in addition to the note on the place (Vol. I, pp. 272-3), I gather the following from Nash's 'Quaternio': 'Let vs

seriously take into our considerations the shortnesse of this life and the durable estate of the life to come. Let vs assure ourselves what a queene of England once writ to one of her maidens of honour is most true :

“ That if in vertue wee take any paines,
The paines departeth, but vertue remaines ;
But if wee take pleasure to doe that is ill,
The pleasure departeth, but the ill tarrieth still.”

On the margin opposite is this note : ‘ This or to this effect haue I seene written with the queene’s owne hand, and her name to it subscribed, with this perswasive intreatie : “ Good madam, for my sake remember this. It is to be seene in a manuscript sometimes Prince Henrie’s, given to the Vniuersity Library in Oxon by Mr. Connock, and remaineth in the custodie of my good friend Mr. Rous’ (p. 108). It is to be wished that something were known of this Thomas Nash, ‘ Philopolitem,’ who, of course, could not be Gabriel Harvey’s renowned antagonist.

Fuller (Ch. II. *s.d.*) quotes one line of an epitaph by Herbert on the Prince of Wales, as follows :

‘ *Uteriora timens cum morte paciscitur Orbis.*’

He pronounces it felicitously untranslatable. A Friend hazards this :

‘ Dreading what lies beyond Life’s latest breath,
The round world strikes a bargain here with death.’

Query : Is the meaning that the World gives its most precious thing to Death in the Prince, to purchase exemption for all others ? Fuller adduces no authority ; nor have I traced it in any of the Collections.

And now, while remembering the maxim of Coke—*‘ Iniquum est aliquem rei sui esse iudicem’*—I venture to hope that I have done something to revive and preserve

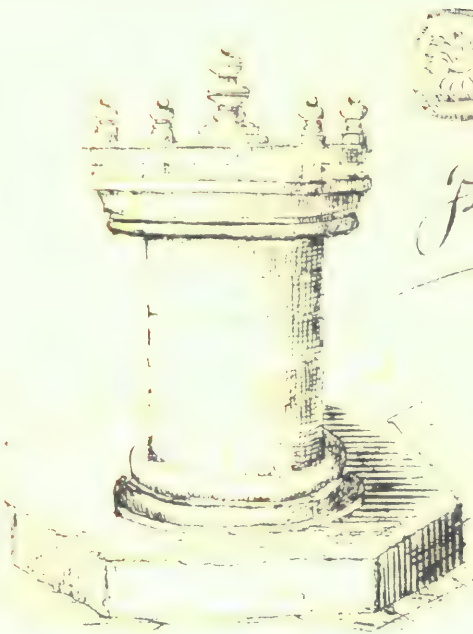
the Works and memory of one of the most saintly of
England's Worthies—George Herbert

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

Park Lane, London, W. 1, 1871.
July 4, 1874.

NOTE.

Will the Reader be pleased to correct these oversights?—In Vol. I. p. 32, l. 4, for 'found' read 'sound'; p. 130, l. 20, for 'favour' read 'savour'—knowledge; p. 134, l. 56, for 'to' read 'do'; p. 146, l. 17, insert 'our' after 'have'; p. 154, l. 19, insert 'as' after 'ev'n'; p. 167, l. 53, read 'And while,' &c.; p. 215, l. 21, omit 'the;' l. 29, for 'comfort' read 'consort'; p. 291, note on 57, for *peλλα* read *φελλα*; in Vol. II. p. 18 (closing lines), read for 'Babel's, butt' 'Babel's butt,' *i.e.* Charles II., the 'Defender of the Faith,' our most religious King; a butt or mark for the shafts of the Church of Rome.—See Postscript at end of this volume for others.



Well, Common Dremstold Church



Window, Common Dremstold Church



Remains of Castle, Dremstold Church

1.

IZAACK WALTON'S
LIFE OF GEORGE HERBERT.

1870.

APPENDICES AND NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

1870.

NOTE.

The Life of George Herbert by Izaak Walton has hitherto been reprinted from the collected Lives, of which Wordsworth

A careful collation of the original separate Life (1670) with that of the 'Lives,' satisfied me that so to do is to lose something for Herbert and Walton alike, seeing that there is an unaffected simplicity and graciousness and ease of style and consistency throughout in the first form of the Life, that were considerably departed from in the subsequent editions. As it seems to me, Walton in revising altered repeatedly to the worse, and inserted bits without sufficiently harmonising them with the context. Accordingly I have returned upon the original text of 1670, reproducing it faithfully, except in a few of his additions of fact and corrections placed within brackets —, and recorded in the Notes. In order that the after alterations may be readily studied, they are given in Appendix A, *id est*, all of any moment for it would have been mere pedantry to mark the change of 'of' for 'to,' 'also' for 'likewise,' &c. The figures (1), (2), &c. refer to these various readings and additions. In Appendix B, I bring together other notices of Herbert by Walton. In Notes and Illustrations, at the close of these Appendices, I correct in part and in part further elucidate matters of fact and noticeable things. The figures 1, 2, &c. refer to these. The original title-page (with 'Imprimatur' on verso) is given opposite. The Letters therein referred to will be found in their respective places in the collection of Herbert's Letters; those of Dean Donne, in Appendix C to Life. In Appendix D, I add Poems in honour of Herbert and Walton. On the Portrait which was prefixed to the Life (1670), see Note in Vol. II. p. lxxvii.

THE LIFE
of
MR GEORGE HERBERT.

Written by *Elizabeth Herbert*.

With a Preface by *John D. Newman*.

LETTERS

By *John D. Newman*.

Mr George Herbert, at his being in
Cambridge, with others to his Mother,
the Lady *Margaret Herbert*. Written
by *John D. Newman*, afterwards Dean of St
Paul's.

With a Preface by *John D. Newman*.

Edited by *John D. Newman*,
Dean of St Paul's.

LONDON,

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Unpublished

Sam: Parker *Reverendissimo*
April 21, *in Christo Patri ac Domi-*
1670, *no, Domino Gilberto Ar-*
chiepiscopo Cantuariensi Sac-
*ramento.*¹

¹ Ep. Samuel Parker, immortalised by the wit of Marvell in 'The Rehearsal Transposed'. See his Works (four edition, vol. iv, p. 166).



TO HIS VERY WORTHY AND MUCH-HONOURED FRIEND

MR. IZACK WALTON,

Upon his excellent Life of Mr. George Herbert.

HEAVEN'S youngest son, 'tis Benjamin,
Edmund's next brother, Sacred Poet,
Nothing I shall ever reckon thee

Whither with the softest of names,
A child of Mercy, or the Nameless.

But, full of vigour in a line,
An essence made, with angels his companions shine;
With angels first the heavenly youth was bred,
And, when a child, instructed them to sing,
And, when a man, he made them sing.

When I, my friend, have seen thee fall
From a high rock on a mountain side to hell,
And tumbling headlong down the precipice fell,

By him first taught, 'How art thou fallen, thou morning
 ing star?' they said;

Too fondly, then, we' have fancy'd him a maid--

We, the vain brethren of the rhyming trade;

A female angel less would Urbin's skill upbraid.

 Koch, *l. c.* p. 100.

1.

Thus 'twas in heav'n : this, Poesy's sex and age;

And when he thence t'our world came down,

 He chose a form more like his own,

And Jesse's youngest son inspir'd with holy rage,

The sprightly shepherd felt unusual fire,

 And up he took his tune-ful lyre;

He took it up, and struck't, and his own soft touches
 did admire,

 Thou, Poesie, on him didst bestow

Thy choicest gift -- a honor shew'd before to none;

And, to prepare his way to th' Hebrew throne,

Gav'st him thy empire and dominion, --

 The happy land of verse, where flow

Rivers of milk, and woods of laurel grow,

 Wherewith thou didst adorn his brow,

And mad'st his first more flourishing and triumphant
 crown,

A list me thy great prophet's praise to sing,

Dar' in the poet's and bless'd Israel's king;

And with the dancing echo let the mountains ring,
Then on the wings of some auspicious wind
Let his great name from earth be rais'd on high,
And in the starry volume of the sky

A lasting record find :

Be with his mighty psaltery join'd,
Which, taken long since up into the air
And old the Harp, makes a bright constellation there.

—

Worthy it were to be translated hence,
And there in view of all exalted hung,
For which of all the princely prophet sang,
And my tink'ling dulcimer did displease,

Flourish, had it still remain'd below.

More wonders of it you had seen,

How great the mighty Herbert's skill had been,
Herbert, who could so much without it do :
Herbert, who did its chords distinctly know
More perfectly than any child of verse below.

O had we known him halt so well

But then, my friend, there had been left for you
Nothing more true and worthy to be said.

When I have yet to say much more to him,

That though he did not want his bays,

Not all the monuments virtue can raise

Yet his great name shall live in every age.

Herbert and Deane again are joined
Now here below, as they're above,
These friends are in their old embraces twin'd;
And since by you the interview's design'd,
Too weak to part them Death does prove:
For in this book they meet again, as in one heav'n
they love.

SAM. WOODFORD, *

Bensted, April 3, 1670.

* Born 1636, died 1700. To be gratefully remembered for what he did in carefully transcribing MSS. of Sir Philip Sidney. See our SIDNEY. His own verse-attempts have long passed into oblivion. G.



III. LIFE

MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

THE INTRODUCTION.

In a late retreat from the business of this world, and those many little cares with which I have too often incumbered myself, I fell into a contemplation of some of those historical passages that are recorded in Sacred Story, and more particularly of what had past between our blessed Saviour and that wonder of women and sinners and mourners, Saint Mary Magdalen. I call her Saint, because I did not then, nor do now, consider her as when she was possessed with seven devils; not as when her wanton eyes and dishevel'd hair were dressed and managed to charm and ensnare ungodly beholders. But I did then, and do now, consider her as after she had exprest a youthful ardour, and when her sinning days were over, and her wretchedness repaired by the blood which she received in baptism, and when she was talking to him who had pardoned all her sins. And I saw how much she loved him, and how much he loved her, and how much she gloried in his name.

her happy condition (11), she also had from Him a testimony that her alabaster^d box of precious ointment poured on His head and feet, and that spikenard, and those spices that were by her dedicated to embalm and preserve His sacred body from putrefaction, should so far preserve her own memory, that these demonstrations of her sanctified love and of her officious and generous gratitude should be recorded and mentioned wheresoever His Gospel should be read; intending thereby that as His so her name should also live to succeeding generations, even till time itself shall be no more.

Upon occasion of which fair example I did lately look back, and not without some content (at least to myself), that I have endeavour'd to deserve the love and preserve the memory of my two deceased friends, Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton, by declaring the various (12) employments and accidents of their lives. And though Mr. George Herbert (whose life I now intend to write) were to me a stranger as to his person, (for I have only seen him) (13) yet since he was, and was worthy to be, their friend, and very many of his have been mine, I judge it may not be unacceptable to those that knew any of them in their lives, or do now know (them by name or) their pious writings (14), to see this conjunction of them after their deaths: without which, many things that concern'd them, and some things that concern'd the age in which they liv'd, would be less perfect, and lost to posterity.

For these reasons I have undertaken it; and if I have prevented any able person, I beg pardon of him and pray to be excus'd.

banneret, who was the youngest brother of that memorable William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, that liv'd in the reign of our King Edward the Fourth.

His mother was Magdalen Newport, the youngest daughter of Sir Richard, and sister to Sir Francis Newport of High Arkall, in the county of Salop, knight, and grandfather of Francis Lord Newport, now Comptroller of his Majesty's household. A family that for their loyalty have suffered much in their estates, and seen the ruine of that excellent structure, where their ancestors have long liv'd, and been memorable for their hospitality.

This mother of George Herbert (of whose person, wisdom, and vertue I intend to give a true account in a seasonable place) was the happy mother of seven sons and three daughters; which, she would often say, was Job's number [and Job's distribution (5)]; and as often bless God that they were neither defective in their shapes nor in their reason; and often (6) reprove them that did not praise God for so great a blessing. I shall give the reader a short accompt of their names, and not say much of their fortunes.

Edward, the eldest, was first made Knight of the Bath at that glorious time of our late Prince Henrie's being install'd Knight of the Garter; and after many years' useful travel, and the attainment of many languages, he was by King James sent ambassador resident to the then French King Lewis XIII. There he

continued about two years : but he could not subject himself to a compliance with the humours of the Duke de Laines,⁶ who was then the great and powerful favourite at court : so that upon a complaint to our king he was called back into England in some displeasure : but at his return he gave such an reasonable account of his employment, and so justified his commitment to the duke and all the court, that he was suddenly sent back upon the same embassy, from which he returned at the beginning of the reign of our good King Charles I., who made him first Baron of Castle Island, and not long after of Cherbourg, in the county of Saluq. He was a man of great learning and reason, as appears by his printed book *De Veritate*, and by his *History of the Reign of King Henry VIII.* and by several other tracts.⁷

The second and third brothers were Richard and William, who ventur'd their lives to purchase honour in the wars of the Low Countries, and dyed others in that employment. Charles was the fourth, and dyed Fellow of New College in Oxford. Henry was the sixth, who became a notable servant to the Crown in the days of King James, and hath continued to be thirty years, during all which time he hath been Master of the Royal Hospital, that requires diligent watching with which G. hath been long. The seventh son was Thomas, who became captain of a ship in the fleet with which Sir Robert Mansell was sent

against Algiers, did there shew a fortunate and true English valour. Of the three sisters I need not say more then that they were all married to persons of worth and plentiful fortunes, and liv'd to be examples of vertue, and to do good in their generations.¹⁰

I now come to give my intended account of George, who was the fifth of those seven brothers.

George Herbert spent much of his childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain or tutor to him and two of his brothers in her own family (for she was then a widow); where he continued till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well instructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale (who was then Dean of Westminster¹¹), and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland,¹² who was then chief master of that school: where the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit shin'd and became so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he seem'd to be marked out for piety, and to be under the care of Heaven, and to be provided with a good angel to guard and guide him. And thus he continued in that school till he came to be perfect in the learned languages, and especially in the Greek tongue, in which he after prov'd an excellent critick.

About the age of fifteen he, being then a king's scholar, was elected out of that school for Trinity College in Oxford, to which place he was transplanted

fit age, remove from Montgomery Castle with him and some of her younger sons to Oxford; and having entered Edward into Queen's Colledge, and provided him a fit tutor, she commended him to his care. Yet she continued there with him, and still kept him in a moderate awe of her self, and so much under her own eye, as to see and converse with him daily; but she managed this power over him without any such rigid sowness as might make her company a torment to her child, but with such a sweetness and compliance with the recreations and pleasures of youth, as did incline him willingly to spend much of his time in the company of his dear and careful mother, which was to her great content; for she would often say, 'that as our bodies take a nourishment sutable to the meat on which we feed, so our souls do as insensibly take in vice by the example or conversation with wicked company;' and would therefore as often say, 'that ignorance of vice was the best preservation of virtue, and that the very knowledge of wickedness was as tinder to inflame and kindle sin and to keep it burning.' For these reasons she endeared him to her own company, and continued with him in Oxford four years: in which time her great and harmless wit, her chearful gravity, and her obliging behaviour, gain'd her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth or learning that were at that time in or near that University, and particularly with Mr. John

Friend, who then came accidentally to that place on the day of her being there. It was that John Donne, who was after Dr. Donne, and Dean of St. Paul's, London; and he, at his leaving Oxford, writ and left there, [in verse,] a character of the beauties of her body and mind. Of the first he says :

'No spring nor summer beauty has such
As I have seen in an autumnal face.'

1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984

In all her words to every learner in
Yamaguchi, she said, "I hope."

he entred into sacred orders); a time when his necessities needed a daily supply for the support of his wife, seven children, and a family; and in this time she prov'd one of his most bountiful benefactors, and he as grateful an acknowledger of it. You may take one testimony of what I have said [of these two worthy persons] (8) from this following letter and sonnet:

‘Madam,—Your favours to me are every where; I use them and have them. I enjoy them at London and leave them there, and yet find them at Micham. Such riddles as these become things unexpressible, and such is your goodness. I was almost sorry to find your servant here this day, because I was loth to have any witness of my not coming home last night, and, indeed, of my coming this morning; but my not coming was excusable, because earnest business detain’d me, and my coming this day is by the example of your St. Mary Magdalen, who rose early upon Sunday to seek that which she lov’d most, and so did I. And from her and myself I return such thanks as are due to one to whom we owe all the good opinion that they whom we need most have of us. By this messenger, and on this good day, I commit the inclosed holy hymns and sonnets (which for the matter, not the workmanship, have yet escap’d the fire) to your judgment, and to your protection too, if you think them worthy of it: and I have appointed this inclosed sonnet to usher them to your happy hand.

'Your unworthiest servant, unless your accepting
him (o) have mended him.' J. D. DONNE.

Micham, July 11, 1607.

'*F. C. Lady Magdalen Herbert of St. Mary's
Magdalen.*

Her of your name, whose fair inheritance

Bethune was, and joining Magdalen

An active faith's rightly Edification.

That she nee kn. was more then the Church did know

The resurrection: so much good there is

Delivered of her, that some Fathers be

Late to believe one woman could do this;

But think these Magdalens were two or three.

Increase their number, lily, and their fame;

To their devotion add your innocence;

Take so much of th' example as of the name.

The latter half; and in some recompence

That they did harbour Christ Himself a guest,

Harbour these hymns, to His dear name address.

J. D.

These hymns are now lost to us; but doubtless they were such as they two now sing in heaven.¹⁶

There might be more demonstrations of the friendship of these two excellent persons (for I have many of their letters in my hands) and much more might be said of her great

prudence and piety ; but my design was not to write hers, but the life of her son ; and therefore I shall only tell my reader that about that very day twenty years that this letter was dated and sent her, I saw and heard this Mr. John Donne (who was then Dean of St. Paul's) weep, and preach her funeral sermon in the parish church of Chelsey, near London, where she now rests in her quiet grave,¹⁷ and where we must now leave her, and return to her son George, whom we left in his study in Cambridge.

And in Cambridge we may find our George Herbert's behaviour to be such, that we may conclude he consecrated the first-fruits of his early age to virtue and a serious study of learning. And that he did so, this following letter and sonnet, which were in the first year of his going to Cambridge sent his dear mother for a new-year's gift, may appear to be some testimony :

But I fear the heat of my late ague hath dried up those springs by which scholars say the Muses use to take up their habitations. However, I need not their help to reprove the vanity of those many love-poems that are daily writ and consecrated to Venus, nor to bewail that so few are writ that look towards God and heaven. For my own part, my meaning, dear mother, is in these sonnets to declare my resolution to be, that my poor abilities in poetry shall be all and ever consecrated to God's glory, and [I beg you to receive this as one testimony.] (15)

In the best face but filth : when, Lord, in Thee
The beauty lies in the discovery. G. H.

This was his resolution at the sending this letter to his dear mother, about which time he was in the seventeenth year of his age ; and as he grew older, so he grew in learning, and more and more in favour both with God and man ; inasmuch that in this morning of that short day of his life, he seem'd to be mark'd out for vertue, and to become the care of Heaven ; for God still kept his soul in so holy a frame, that he may and ought to be a pattern of vertue to all posterity, and especially to his brethren of the clergy, of which the reader may expect a more exact account in what will follow.

I need not declare that he was a strict student, because that he was so, there will be many testimonies in the future part of his life. I shall therefore only tell that he was made Minor Fellow in the year 1609,¹² Bachelor of Art in the year 1611, Major Fellow of the college, March 15, 1615 ; and that in that year he was also made Master of Arts, being then in the 22d year of his age ; during all which time all or the greatest diversion from his study was the practice of musick, in which he became a great master, and of which he would say, ' that it did relieve his drooping spirits, compose his distracted thoughts, and raise his weary soul so far above earth that it gave him an earnest of the joyes of heaven, before he possess them.' And it may be

noted, that from his first entrance into the college, the generous Dr. Nevil was a cherisher of his studies, and such a lover of his person, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him into his own company, by which he confirm'd his native gentleness;¹ and if during this time he exposed any error, it was that he kept himself too much in the shade, and that he was not so diligent in his studies, as he might have been. But that he was not so diligent, was not his fault, but the fault of his friends, who were too ready to excuse him, and too ready to praise him.

Herbert was a member of the society of the Inner Temple, the first year of which was 1615. In the year 1619 he was chosen one of the six serjeants. His two precedent serjeants were Sir Robert Norton, and Sir Francis Nevelille. These two serjeants, and the six serjeants of the Inner Temple, were sworn in by the Lady Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. In the place of one of the six serjeants continued eight years, and manag'd it with as much firmness and gravity as any had ever before. For he had acquired great learning, and was a great scholar, and a great reader, and with a natural elegance both in his behaviour, his tongue, and his pen.² Of all which there might be very many particular evidences, but I will limit myself to the following.

1. That he was a great scholar, and a great reader.

ness for this employment of orator was manifested in a letter to King James, who had sent the university his book (11) called *Basilicæ Doctrinæ*,²² and their orator was to acknowledge this great honour and return their gratitude to his Majesty for such a condescension; at the close of which letter he writ,

‘ Quid Vaticanam Bodlicanamque objeïs, hospes!
Unicus est nobis Bibliotheca liber.’²³

This letter was writ in such excellent Latin, was so full of conceits, and all the expressions so suited to the genius of the king, that he inquired the orator's name, and then ask'd William Earl of Pembroke if he knew him: whose answer was, ‘ That he knew him very well, and that he was his kinsman; but he lov'd him more for his learning and vertue than for that he was of his name and family.’ At which answer the king smil'd, and ask'd the earl leave ‘ that he might love him too, for he took him to be the jewel of that university.’

The next occasion he had and took to shew his great abilities was with them to shew also his great affection to that Church in which he received his baptism, and of which he profest himself a member. And the occasion was this: there was one Andrew Melvin (12), a gentleman of Scotland, who was in his own country possess'd with an aversness, if not a hatred, of church government by bishops; and he seem'd to have a like aversness to our manner of public worship, and of church prayer and ceremonies. This gentleman had

in Italy and France, and resided so long in Geneva as to have his opinions the more confirm'd in him by the practice of that place: from which he return'd into England some short time before, or immediately after Mr. Herbert was made orator. This Mr. Melin was a most able man, and was the master of a most witty, a wit full of knots and clenches, a wit sharp and satirical, exceeded, I think, by none of that nation but the Boman. At Mr. Melin's request he wrote a letter to the Lord Treasurer, in which was a most severe and piercing satire upon the worship of God, in which Mr. Herbert took himself to be much concerned, that contrary Melin writ and scattered them. Mr. Herbert writ and scatter'd answers and rejoinders to the same sharpness upon him and them, I think to the satisfaction of all uningaged persons. But this Mr. Melin was not only so busie against the Church, but also busied with the king, and such, that he caus'd our writ himself into the Tower, in which the Lady Arabella was impris'd, and put her there: and he plac'd himself in such a position, as he might see and hear her, and comfort her, and converse with her, which I will not say that he did, but that he was so busied with her, that he did not think of the

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tell him, Mr. Herbert's verses were thought so worthy to be preserv'd, that Dr. Duport, the learned Dean of Peterborough, hath lately collected and caus'd (13) them to be printed, as an honourable memorial of his friend Mr. George Herbert, and the cause he undertook;²⁶

And in order to my third and last observation of his great abilities, it will be needful to declare that about this time King James came very often to hunt at Newmarket and Royston; and was almost as often invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was [comedies] (14) suited to his pleasant humor;²⁷ and where Mr. George Herbert was to welcome him with gratulations and the applauses of an orator; which he alwayes perform'd so well, that he still grew more into the king's favour; insomuch that he had a particular appointment to attend his Majesty at Royston; where, after a discourse with him, his Majesty declar'd to his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, 'that he found the orator's learning and wisdom much above his age or wit.' The year following, the king appointed to end his progress to Cambridge, and to stay there certain dayes; at which time he was attended by the great secretary of nature and all learning, Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Virulin, and by the ever-memorable and learned Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, both which did at that time begin a desir'd friendship with our orator. Upon whom the first part of his exordium

anchors. These seals²⁹ he gave or sent to most of those friends on which he put value; and at Mr. Herbert's death these verses were found wrapt up with that seal which was by the doctor given to him :

When my dear friend could write no more,
He gave this Seal, and so gave ore.
When winds and waves rise highest, I am sure
This anchor keeps my faith, that me secure.³⁰

At this time of being orator he had learnt to understand the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues very perfectly, hoping that as his predecessor, so he might in time attain the place of a Secretary of State, being then (18) high in the king's favour; and not meanly valued and lov'd by the most eminent and most powerful of the court nobility : this and the love of a court conversation, mixt with a laudable ambition to be something more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge to attend the king wheresoever the court was (19), who then gave him a sinecure which fell into his Majestic's disposal, I think, by the death of the Bishop of St. Asaph. It was the same that Queen Elizabeth had formerly given to her favourite Sir Philip Sidney, and valued to be worth 120*l.* per annum.³¹ With this and his annuity, and the advantage of his colledge and of his oratorship, he enjoy'd his gentle³² humour for cloaths and court like company, and seldom look'd towards Cambridge unless the king were there, and³³ then he never fail'd ; but at other

me, but the necessity of his sister's presence, his beloved friend Mr. Herbert Threlkell, who lived at the end of Westminster, &c.

I may not only recollect that he had often been to leave the university, and resign all scholar's duties, but he had impaired his health, nor he had contracted a consumption, and he never could recover it, so that he could never leave his bed, and he was in a state of such weakness, that he would have soon died had he not been supported by a medical regimen, which he followed till 1760. But another would be no means allowing him to leave the university, or to travel, to which, though he might very pertinaciously yet he would by no means give his assent, and at such moments he produced a detailed series of observations on the cold, which was sent him by his wife. And when I have more repeatedly appeared in company of ours, I did print a poem, 'tis one of those that bears the title of 'Articulation,' and it appears to be a plain reflection on a physician, and an expression of his indignation at the

•When I could but have kept him out of
The sick-room, I had been content.

I have not the original of this poem.

I have not the original of this poem.

A. Johnson, 1760, p. 10.

I have not the original of this poem.

I have not the original of this poem.

Yet, for I threatned oft the siege to raise,
Not simp'ring all mine age,
Thou often didst with academick praise
Melt and dissolve my rage :
I took the sweetned pill, till I came where
I could not go away nor persevere.

Yet least perchance I should too happy be
In my unhappiness,
Turning my purge to food, Thou throwest me
Into more sicknesses :
Thus doth Thy power cross byas me, not making
Thine own gifts good, yet me from my wayes taking.

Now I am here, what Thou wilt do with me
None of my books will shew ;
I read, and sigh, and wish I were a tree,
For then sure I should grow
To fruit or shade, at least some bird would trust
Held fast with me, and I would be put.

Yet though Thou troublest me, I must be meek,
In weakness must be stout :
Well, I will change my service, and go seek
Some other master out.
Ah, my dear God, though I am clean lost,
Let me not love Thee, if I love Thee not. — G. H.

that the domestick servants of the King of Heaven should be of the noblest families on earth; and though the iniquity of the late times have made clergymen meanly valued, and the sacred name of priest contemptible, yet I will labour to make it honourable, by consecrating all my learning and all my poor abilities to advance the glory of that God that gave them, knowing that I can never do too much for Him that hath loved me much; I mean to make me a Christian. And I will labour to be like my Saviour, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by following the merciful and meek example of my dear Jesus.¹

This was, then, his resolution, and the God of constancy, Who intended him for a great example of virtue, continued him in it: for within that year he was made deacon, but the day when, or by whom, I can not learn; but that he was about that time made deacon is most certain, for I find by the records of Lincoln that he was made prebend³¹ of Layton Ecclesia in the diocess of Lincoln, July 15, 1626, and that this prebend was given him by John, then lord bishop of that see.³² And now he had a fit occasion to show that piety and bounty that was deriv'd from his generous mother and his other memorable ancestors, and the occasion was this:

This Layton Ecclesia is a village near to Spalden, in the county of Huntingdon, and the greatest part of the parish church was fall-down, and that of it] which

before it could be finisht, sent for him from London to Chelsey, where he (26) then dwelt, and at his coming said, 'George, I sent for you to persuade you to commit simony, by giving your patron as good a gift as he has given you, namely, that you give him back his prebend; for, George, it is not for your weak body and empty purse to undertake to build churches.' Of which he desir'd he might have a daye's time to consider, and then make her an answer. And at his return to her at the next day, when he had first desired her blessing, and she given it him, his next request was, 'that she would at the age of thirty-three years allow him to become an undutiful son; for he had made a kind of (27) vow to God, that if he were able, he would rebuild that church.' And then shew'd her such reasons for his resolution, that she presently subscribed to be one of his benefactors, and undertook to sollicit William Earl of Pembroke to be another, who subscribed for 50*l.*, and not long after, by a witty and persuasive letter from Mr. Herbert, made it 50*l.* more. And in this nomination of some of his benefactors, James Duke of Lennox⁴⁴ and his brother Sir Henry Herbert⁴⁵ ought to be remembred, and the bounty of Mr. Nicholas Farrer⁴⁶ and Mr. Arthur Woodnot⁴⁷—the one a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Layton, and the other a goldsmith in Foster-lane, London—ought not to be forgotten; for the memory of such men ought to outlive their lives. Of

Mr. Finner I shall hereafter try to find some more comfortable and suitable place, but before I proceed further, I will give this short account of Mr. Arthur W. Hoar.

to mention the holy friendship that was betwixt him and Mr. Herbert. (28)

beloved brother Sir Henry Herbert and other friends then of that family. (29) In his house he remain'd about twelve months, and there became his own physician, and cur'd himself of his ague by forbearing drink, and not eating any meat, no, not mutton, nor a hen, or pidgeon, unless they were salted; and by such a constant dyet he remov'd his ague, but with inconveniencies that were worse; for he brought upon himself a disposition to rheums and other weaknesses, and a supposed consumption. And it is to be noted that in the sharpest of his extreme fits he would often say, 'Lord, abate my great affliction, or increase my patience: but, Lord, I repine not; I am dumb, Lord, before Thee, because Thou doest it.' By which, and a sanctified submission to the will of God, he shewed he was inclinable to bear the sweet yoke of Christian discipline, both then and in the latter part of his life, of which there will be many true testimonies.

And now his care was to recover from his consumption by a change from Woodford into such an air as was most proper to that end; and his remove was from Woodford to Dantsey in Wiltshire; a noble house which stands in a choice air. The owner of it then was the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who lov'd Mr. Herbert much, and allow'd him such an apartment in that house as might best suite Mr. Herbert's accommodation and liking. (30) And in this place, by a spare dyet, declining all perplexing studies, moderate

tion Mr. Charles Danvers of Bainton, in the county of Wilts, esq. That Mr. Danvers, having known him long and familiarly, did so much affect him, that he often and publicly declar'd a desire that Mr. Herbert would marry any of his nine daughters (for he had so many), but rather his daughter Jane than any other, because Jane was his beloved daughter; and he had often said the same to Mr. Herbert himself, and that if he could like her for a wife, and she him for a husband, Jane should have a double blessing; and Mr. Danvers had so often said the like to Jane, and so much commended Mr. Herbert to her, that Jane became so much a platonick as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unseen.

This was a fair preparation for a marriage; but, alas, her father dyed before Mr. Herbert's retirement to Pantsey; yet some friends to both parties procur'd their meeting, at which time a mutual affection entered into both their hearts; and as a conqueror enters into a surprized city, so Love having got that possession (33), govern'd and made there such laws and resolutions as neither party was able to resist, insomuch that she chang'd her name into Herbert the third day after this first interview.

This hastest might in others be thought a love-plausie, or worse, but it was not; for they had wooed so like princes as to have select proxies, such as were friends (34) to both parties; such as well understood

[illegible]

sent it him without seeking. But though Mr. Herbert had formerly put on a resolution for the clergy, yet, at receiving this presentation (36), the apprehension of the last great account that he was to make for the cure of so many souls made him fast and pray (37), and consider for not less than a month ; in which time he had some resolutions to decline both the priesthood and that living. And in this time of considering, ‘he endur’d,’ as he would often say, ‘such spiritual conflicts as none can think but only those that have endur’d them.’

In the midst of these conflicts his old and dear friend, Mr. Arthur Woodnot, took a journey to salute him at Bainton,—where he then was with his wife’s friends and relations,—and was joyful to be an eye-witness of his health and happy marriage. And after they had rejoyc’d together some few dayes, they took a journey to Wilton, the famous seat of the Earls of Pembroke; at which time the king, the earl, and the whole court were there, or at Salisbury, which is near to it : at which time (38) Mr. Herbert presented his thanks to the earl for his presentation to Bemerton, but had not yet resolv’d to accept of it, and told him the reason why. But that night the earl acquainted Dr. Land, [then Bishop of London, and after] Archbishop of Canterbury (39), with his kinsman’s irresolution. And the bishop did the next day so convince Mr. Herbert that the refusal of it was a sin, that a taxia was sent

ter, to come speedily from Salisbury to Wilton to take measure and make him canonical cloaths against next lay, which the taylor did; and Mr. Herbert, being so habited, went with his presentation to the learned Dr. Dayenant, who was then Bishop of Salisbury, and he gave him institution immediately after Mr. Herbert had been made deacon some years before; and he was also the same day, which was April 23, 1639, inducted into the sacerdotal and more illustrious beautiful parsonage of Beaminster, which is a mile from Salisbury.

I have now brought him to his parsonage of Beaminster, and to the thirty-sixth year of his age; and must now stop (40), and bespeak the reader to prepare for an almost incredible story of the great sanctity of the short remainder of his holy life; a life so full of charity, humility, and all Christian virtues, that it deserves the eloquence of St. Chrysostom to commend and declare it; a life that, if it were related by a pen like his, there would then be no need for this writer to look back into times past for the examples of primitive piety; for they might be all found in the Great George Herbert. But now, alas, when it is undertaken by I know not whom, and am not pleased with myself, but not to read professors of piety, who I can only have now of the clergy lived like him, and who have only his example to follow now. But it is no more time to concern myself in such trifles, and I must therefore, that I have so long spent in life, and in company with

that I might inform him of the truth of what follows ; and [though I cannot adorn it with eloquence, yet] I will do it with sincerity. (41)

When at his induction he was shut into Bemerton church, being left there alone to toll the bell, as the law requires him, he staid so much longer than an ordinary time before he return'd to his friends (42) that staid expecting him at the church-door, that his friend Mr. Woodnot looked in at the church-window, and saw him lie prostrate on the ground before the altar ; at which time and place, as he after told Mr. Woodnot, he set some rules to himself for the future manage of his life, and then and there made a vow to labour to keep them.

And the same night that he had his induction he said to Mr. Woodnot : ' I now look back upon my aspiring thoughts, and think myself more happy than if I had attain'd what then I so ambitiously thirsted for. And I can now behold the court with an impartial eye, and see plainly that it is made up of fraud and titles and flattery, and many other such empty imaginary painted pleasures ; pleasures that are so empty as not to satisfie when they are enjoy'd ; but in God and His service is a fulness of all joy and pleasure, and no satiety. And I will now use all my endeavours to bring my relations and dependants to a love and reliance on Him Who never fails those that trust Him. But above all, I will be sure to live well, because the

virtuous life of a clergyman is the most powerful eloquence to persuade all that see it to reverence and love, and at least to desire to live like him. And this I will do, because I know we live in an age that hath more need of good examples than precepts. And I believe that God, Who hath benighted man's conscience,

shall to serve His Will, that by His special grace He hath put into my heart these good desires and resolutions, so He will, by His assisting grace, enable me (43) to bring the same to good effect; and that my humble and charitable life may so win upon others as to bring glory to my Jesus, Whom I have this day taken to be my Master and Governor; and am so proud of His service, that I will always adore Him, obey Him, do His will, and always call Him, *Jesus my Master*; and I will always contemn my birth, or any title or dignity that can be conferred on man, when I shall compare them, with any *44* title of holiness bestowed on any, at the Altar of Jesus My Master.

And that he did convey government of his heart to his Lord, or Sacred Presence, is fully manifest, when he said, 'The Obedience which I owe to my Lord, is my thoughts of that word, *Jesus*;' and to say the adding these words, '*my Master*,' to it, and the often repetition of them, seem'd to perfume his mind, and leave an oriental fragrance in his very breath. And for his unfeign'd choice to serve at God's altar, he seems in the following words to His Presence, to have been

and say : 'He knew the wayes of learning ; knew what nature does willingly, and what when 'tis forc'd by fire ; knew the wayes of honour, and when glory inclines the soul to noble expressions ; knew the court, knew the wayes of pleasure, of love, of wit, of musick, and upon what terms he declined all these for the service of his Master, Jesus ?' and concludes saying :

'That through these labyrinths, not my groveling wit,
But Thy silk-twist, let down from heaven to me.
Did both conduct and teach me how by it
To climb to Thee.'

The third day after he was made rector of Bemerton, and had chang'd his sword and silk cloaths into a canonical coat, he return'd so habited with his friend Mr. Woodnot to Bainton, and immediately after he had seen and saluted his wife, he said to her : 'You are now a minister's wife, and must now so far forget your father's house as not to claim a precedence of any of your parishioners ; for you are to know that a priest's wife can challenge no precedence or place but that which she purchases by her obliging humility ; and I am sure places so purchased do best become them. And let me tell you, that I am so good a herald as to assure you that this is truth.' And she was so meek a wife as to assure him 'it was no vexing news to her, and that he should see her observe it with a cheerful willingness.' And indeed her unforc'd humility - that humility that was in her so original as to be

lean with her, made her so happy as to do so; and her doing so begot her an unfeigned love and a serviceable respect from all that conversed with her, and this love followed her in all places as inseparably as shadows follow substances in sunshine.

It was not many days before he return'd back to Bennington to view the church, and repair the church, and ordered to rebuild almost three parts on his house, which was fall'n down, & decay'd by reason of his predecessor's livin' at a better parsonage-house, namely at Minch, between or twenty miles from this place.⁶ At which time of Mr. Herbert's coming adown to Bennington, there came to him a poor old woman, with an intent to acquaint him with her necessitous condition, and with some troubles of her mind; but after he had spoke some few words to him, she was surpris'd with a fear (46) and shutting up of breath, so that her spirits and speech fail'd her; which he perceiving, did compassionately (47) that he took her by the hand, and said: 'Speak, good mother, be not afraid to speak to me, for I am a man that will be easy with patients; and will relieve you necessities, and be able; and this I will do willingly; and therefore, mother, be not afraid to acquaint me with what you desire.' After which comfortable speech, he again took her by the hand, made her sit down by him, and understanding she was of his parish, he told her 'he would be acquainted with her, and take her into his

care.' And having with patience heard and understood her wants,—and it is some relief (48) [for a poor body] to be but heard with patience,—he, [like a Christian clergyman] (49), comforted her by his meek behaviour and counsel; but because that cost him nothing, he reliev'd her with money too, and so sent her home with a cheerful heart, praising God, and praying for him. Thus worthy and (like David's blessed man) thus lowly was Mr. George Herbert in his own eyes. (50)

At his return that night to his wife at Bainton, he gave her an account of the passages 'twixt him and the poor woman; with which she was so affected that she went next day to Salisbury, and there bought a pair of blankets, and sent them as a token of her love to the poor woman; and with them a message, 'that she would see and be acquainted with her when her house was built at Bemerton.'

There be many such passages both of him and his wife, of which some few will be related; but I shall first tell that he hasted to get the parish-church repair'd; then to beautifie the chapel, which stands near his house, and that at his own great charge. He then proceeded to rebuild [the greatest part of] (51) the parsonage-house, which he did also very compleatly, and at his own charge; and having done this good work, he caus'd these verses to be writ upon or ingraven in the mantle of the chimney in his hall:

To my Successor,

If thou chance for to find
 A new house to thy mind,
 And built without thy cost ;
 Be good to the poor,
 As God gives thee store,
 And then my labor's not lost.⁵⁷

We will now, by the reader's leave, suppose him to visit Benet's, and find him to dwell on the same principle, and the happy laborer to be very busy, and well, and his wife to be that which is a good mother, and having now left him there, I shall proceed to give an account of the rest of his behaviour both to his parishioners, and to many others that knew and conversed with him. (52)

Doubtless Mr. Herbert had considered and given rules to himself for his Christian carriage both to God and man before he enter'd into holy orders. And he was not unlike but that he renewed these resolutions at his consecration before the holy altar, at his induction into the Church of Benet, and that he was not less diligent and careful for the next year or two, than he was before, and in the first year of his episcopacy, he was so diligent and industrious in his episcopal office, that he was able to discharge all his episcopal duties, both the sacramental, and withal ministerial, in the House of his new Lord Bishop of London, who was not only a great benefactor withal, but a great encourager of him, and a great promoter of his

George Herbert), tells me 'he laid his hand on Mr. Herbert's head; and, alas, within less than three years lent his shoulder to carry his dear friend to his grave.'⁵⁸

And that Mr. Herbert might the better preserve those holy rules which such a priest as he intended to be ought to observe; and that time might not insensibly blot them out of his memory, but the next year shew him his variations from this year's resolutions; he therefore did set down his rules (53) in that order as the world now sees them printed in a little book call'd the *Countray Parson*, in which some of his rules are:

The parson's knowledge.
 The parson on Sundayes.
 The parson praying.
 The parson preaching.
 The parson's charity.
 The parson comforting the sick.
 The parson arguing.
 The parson condescending.
 The parson in his journey.
 The parson in his death.
 The parson with his churchwardens.
 The parson's blessing the people.

And his behaviour toward God and man may be said to be a practical comment on these and the other holy

and perswasions brought them to a willing conformity with his desires.

The texts for all his [future] (55) sermons [which God knows were not many] were constantly taken out of the gospel for the day, and he did as constantly declare why the Church did appoint that portion of Scripture to be that day read, and in what manner the collect for every Sunday does refer to the gospel or to the epistle then read to them; and that they might pray with understanding, he did usually take occasion to explain, not only the collect for every particular Sunday (56), but the reasons of all the other collects and responses in our [church] service (57); and made it appear to them that the whole service of the Church was a reasonable, and therefore an acceptable, sacrifice to God: as namely, that we begin with confession of ourselves to be vile miserable sinners; and that we begin so because till we have confessed ourselves to be such, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we need and pray for: but having, in the prayer of our Lord, begg'd pardon for those sins which we have confest, and hoping that as the priest hath declar'd our absolution, so by our publick confession and real repentance we have obtain'd that pardon. Then we dare (58) proceed to beg of the Lord to open our lips, that our mouths may shew forth His praise, for till then we are neither able nor worthy to praise Him. But this being suppos'd, we are then fit to say, 'Glory be to the Father, and to

the Son, and to the Holy Ghost," and not to proceed to a further service of our God, in the collected and psalmodic lauds that follow in the service.

And as to these psalms and laments, he proceeded to inform them why they were so often and some of them daily repeated in our church service; namely, the reason being, that they be an historical and thankful repetition of mercies past, and such a composition of prayers and praises as ought to be repeated privately and publicly; for with such sacrifices God is honoured and well pleased. This for the psalms.

[illegible]

daily to rejoyce, and daily to offer up their sacrifices of praise to their God for that and all His mercies ; a service which is now the constant employment of that blessed Virgin and Simeon, and all those blessed saints that are possest of heaven ; and where they are at this time interchangeably and constantly singing, ‘ Holy, holy, holy Lord God ; glory be to God on high, and on earth peace.’ And he taught them that to do this was an acceptable service to God, because the prophet David says in his psalms, ‘ He that praiseth the Lord honoureth Him.’

He made them to understand how happy they be that are freed from the incumbrances of that law which our forefathers groan’d under ; namely, from the legal sacrifices and from the many ceremonies of the Levitical law ; freed from circumcision, and from the strict observation of the Jewish Sabbath, and the like. And he made them know, that having receiv’d so many and so great blessings by being born since the days of our Saviour, it must be an acceptable sacrifice to Almighty God for them to acknowledge those blessings (6c), and stand up and worship, and say as Zacharias did, ‘ Blessed be the Lord God of Israel ; for He hath’ (in our dayes) ‘ visited and redeemed His people, and’ (He hath in our dayes) ‘ remembered and shewed that mercy which, by the mouth of the prophets, He promised to our forefathers ; and this He hath done according to His holy covenant made with them.’ And [he made them

to understand that] we live to see and enjoy the benefit of it in His birth, in His life, His passion, His resurrection, and ascension into heaven, where He is now, as sensible of all our temptations and sufferings, and where He is at this present time making intercession for us to His and our Father; and therefore they ought daily to express their publick gratitude to Him, daily with Zacharias, 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, that hath thus visited and thus redeemed His people.' These were some of the reasons by which Mr. Herbert instructed his congregation for the use of the psalms and the hymns appointed to be daily sung on the Lord's day.

reverend and humble posture, look as beautifully as Jerusalem, that is at peace with itself.

He instructed them why the prayer of our Lord was pray'd often in every full service of the Church — namely, at the conclusion of the several parts of that service ; and pray'd then, not only because it was compos'd and commanded by our Jesus that made it, but as a perfect pattern for our less perfect forms of prayer, and therefore fittest to sum up and conclude all our imperfect petitions.

He instructed them that, as by the second commandment we are requir'd not to bow down or worship any idol or false god, so, by the contrary rule, we are to bow down and kneel, or stand up, and worship the true God. And he instructed them why the Church required the congregation to stand up at the repetition of the creeds ; namely, because they did thereby declare both their obedience to the Church and an assent to that faith into which they had been baptiz'd. And he taught them that in that shorter creed or doxology so often repeated daily, they also stood up to testify their belief to be that the God that they trusted in was one God and three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ; to Whom [they and] the priest gave glory. And because there had been hereticks that had denied some of these three Persons to be God, therefore the congregation stood up and honour'd Him by confessing and saying : It was so in the beginning, is now so, and

shall ever be so, world without end;' and all gave their assent to this belief by standing up and saying 'Amen.'

He instructed them what benefit they had by the Church's appointing the celebration of holy-dayes, and the excellent use of them; namely, that they were set apart for particular commemorations of particular mercies received from Almighty God, and, as Reverend Mr. Hooker sayes,⁶⁰ to be the landmarks to distinguish times: for by them we are taught to take notice how the years pass (61) by us, and that we ought not to let years pass without a celebration of praise for those mercies which they give us occasion to remember; and therefore (62) the year is appointed to begin the 25th day of March—a day in which we commemorate the angel's appearing to the blessed Virgin with the joyful tidings, that she should conceive and bear a Son, that should be the Redeemer of mankind; and she did forty weeks after this joyful salutation, namely at Christmas—a day in which we commemorate His birth with joy and praise; and that eight dayes after this happy birth we celebrate His circumcision, namely in that which we call New-year's day. And that upon that we call Twelfth-day (63) we commemorate the manifestation of the Son of God to the Gentiles, namely the Magi; and that that day we also celebrate the new proof of His goodness in sending a star to guide the three wise men from the East to Bethlem, that they might adore Him, and receive His gift of life and grace.

frankincense, and myrrour. And he (Mr. Herbert) instructed them that Jesus was forty dayes after His birth presented by His blessed mother in the Temple, namely on that day which we call the Purification of the blessed Virgin Saint Mary. And he instructed them that by the Lent fast we imitate and commemorate our Saviour's humiliation in fasting forty dayes; and that we ought to endeavour to be like Him in purity. And that on Good Fryday we commemorate and condole His crucifixion; and at Easter, commemorate His glorious resurrection. And he taught them that after Jesus had manifested Himself to His disciples to be that Christ that was crucified, dead, and buried, that by His appearing and conversing with them (64) for the space of forty dayes after His resurrection, He then, and not till then, ascended into heaven in the sight of His disciples, namely on that day which we call the Ascension, or Holy Thursday. And that we then celebrate the performance of the promise which He made to His disciples at or before His ascension, namely that though He left them, yet He would send them the Holy Ghost to be their Comforter; and that He did so on that day which the Church calls Whit Sunday. Thus the Church keeps an historical and circular commemoration of times as they pass by us; of such times as ought to incline us to occasional praises for the particular blessings which we do or might receive by those holy times. (65)

parishioners understand what and why they pray'd and prais'd and ador'd their Creator (67). I hope I shall the more easily obtain the reader's belief to the following account of Mr. Herbert's own practice ; which was, to appear constantly, with his wife and three neeces (the daughters of a deceased sister), and his whole family, twice a day at the church prayers in the chappel which does almost join to his parsonage-house. And for the time of his appearing, it was strictly at the canonical hours of ten and four ; and then and there he lifted up pure and charitable hands to God in the midst of the congregation. And he would joy to have spent that time in that place where the honour of his Master Jesus dwelleth ; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour and visible adoration, he, like Joshua,⁶¹ brought not only his own household thus to serve the Lord, but brought most of his parishioners, and many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, constantly to make a part of his congregation twice a day ; and some of the meaner sort of his parish did so love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their plow rest when Mr. Herbert's saint's-bell⁶² rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him, and would then return back to their plow. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God and to him, that they thought themselves the happier when they carried Mr. Herbert's blessing back with them to

In one of his walks to Salisbury he overtook a gentleman that is still living in that city; and in their walk together Mr. Herbert took a fair occasion to talk with him, and humbly begg'd to be excus'd if he ask'd him some account of his faith, and said, 'I do this the rather because, though you are not of my parish, yet I receive tythe from you by the hand of your tenant; and, sir, I am the bolder to do it, because I know there be some sermon-hearers that be like those fishes that alwayes live in salt water, and yet are alwayes fresh.' After which expression Mr. Herbert asked him some needful questions; and having received his answer, gave him such rules for the tryal of his sincerity and for a practical piety, and in so loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman did so fall in love with him and his discourse, that he would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Salisbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton, and still mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with veneration, and still praiseth God that he knew him. (70)

In another of his Salisbury walks he met with his neighbour minister; and after some friendly discourse betwixt them, and some condolement for the wickedness of the times and contempt of the clergy (71), Mr. Herbert took occasion to say, 'One cure for these distempers would be for the clergy themselves to keep the Ember-weeks strictly, and beg of their parishioners to joyn with them, in fasting and prayer for a more religious clergy.'

he should be merciful to his beast. Thus he left the poor man; and at his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury, they began to wonder that Mr. George Herbert, which us'd to be so trim and clean, came into that company so soyl'd and discompos'd; but he told them the occasion; and when one of the company told him he had disparag'd himself by so dirty an employment, his answer was, 'That the thought of what he had done would prove musick to him at midnight, and the omission of it would have upbraided and made discord in his conscience whensoever he should pass by that place; for if I be bound to pray for all that be in distress, I am sure that I am bound, so far as it is in my power, to practise what I pray for. And though I do not wish for the like occasion every day, yet let me tell you, I would not willingly pass one day of my life without comforting a sad soul or shewing mercy; and I praise God for this occasion. And now let's tune our instruments.'¹

Thus, as our blessed Saviour after His resurrection did take occasion to interpret the Scripture to Cleopas and that other disciple which He met with, and accompanied too, in their journey to Emmaus, so Mr. Herbert, in his path toward heaven, did daily take any fair occasion to instruct the ignorant, or comfort any that were in affliction, and did alwayes confirm his precepts by shewing [humility and] mercy (73), [and] ministering grace to the hearers].

that life which is to come ; being these and more excellent things are in Scripture spoken of thee, O Charity ; and that being all my tythes and church-dues are a decimate⁶⁶ from Thee, O my God, make me, O my God, so far to trust Thy promise, as to return them back to Thee ; and by Thy grace I will do so, in distributing them to any of Thy poor members that are in distress, or do but bear the image of Jesus my Master. Sir,' said he to his friend, 'my wife hath a competent maintenance secur'd her after my death ; and therefore, as this is my prayer, so this my resolution shall, by God's grace, be unalterable.'

This may be some account of the excellencies of the active part of his life ; and thus he continued till a consumption so weakned him, as to confine him to his house or to the chappel, which does almost join to it, in which he continued to read prayers constantly twice every day, though he were very weak ; in one of which times of his reading his wife observ'd him to read in pain, and told him so, and that it wasted his spirits and weakned him ; and he confess'd it did, but said, 'his life could not be better spent than in the service of his Master Jesus, Who had done and suffered so much for him. But,' he said, 'I will not be wilful ; for (74) Mr. Bestock shall be appointed to read prayers for me to morrow ; and I will now be only a hearer of them, till this mortal shall put on immortality.' And Mr. Bestock did the next day undertake

and continue this happy employment till Mr. Herbert's death. This Mr. Bostock was a learned and virtuous man; an old friend of Mr. Herbert's, and then his curate to the church of Fulston, which is a mile from Bemerton, to which church Bemerton is but a chapel of ease. And this Mr. Bostock did also constantly supply the church service for Mr. Herbert in that chappel, when the sickness meeting at Salisbury could his absence from it.

About one month before his death, his friend Mr. Farrer (for an account of whom I am by promise indebted to the reader, and intend to make him subject-payment) hearing of Mr. Herbert's sickness, sent Mr. Edmund Duncan (who is now rector of Fryer Barnet, in the county of Middlesex) from his house of Gidden Hall, which is near to Huntingdon, to see Mr. Herbert, and to assure him he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery; and Mr. Duncan was to return back to Gidden with an account of Mr. Herbert's condition. Mr. Duncan found him (75) at that time lying on his bed or on a pallet; but at his seeing, he revived himself vigorously, raised himself up with some earnestness inquired the health of his brother Farrer, and then desired to hear of his friends.

He then said to Mr. Farrer, I do live, and the more of his content serving God, he said to Mr. Duncan, Sir, I see by your face it that you are a good man, and I

Mr. Duncon asked him, what prayers? to which Mr. Herbert's answer was, 'O sir, the prayers of my mother the Church of England, no other prayers are equal to them; but at this time I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint;' and Mr. Duncon did so. After which, and some other discourse of Mr. Farrer, Mrs. Herbert provided Mr. Duncon a plain supper and a clean lodging, and he betook himself to rest. This Mr. Duncon tells me, that at his first view of Mr. Herbert he saw majesty and humility so reconcil'd in his looks and behaviour, as begot in him an awful reverence for his person; and sayes his discourse was so pious, and his motion so gentle⁶⁸ and meek, that after almost forty years they remain still fresh in his memory.

The next morning Mr. Duncon left him, and betook himself to a journey to Bath, but with a promise to return back to him within five days, and he did so: but before I shall say anything of what discourse then fell betwixt them two, I will pay my promised account of Mr. Farrer.

Mr. Nicholas Farrer (who got the reputation of being called St. Nicholas at the age of six years) was born in London, and doubtless had good education in his youth: but certainly was at a fit⁶⁹ age made Fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge, where he continued to be eminent for his piety, temperance, and learning. About the 26th year of his age he betook himself to travel,

in which he added to his Latin and Greek a perfect knowledge of all the languages spoken in the western parts of our Christian world, and understood well the principles of their religion and of their manner, and the reasons of their worship. In this his travel he met with many persuasions to come into communion with that Church which calls itself *Pæst-Catholick*; but he would not be moved, as he went, contented in his journey to his mother the Queen's Court in England. In his absence from England, Mr. Farrer's father (who was a merchant) allowed him a liberal maintenance, and sent him after his return into England he had by the death of his father a considerable fortune, and the year 1777 presented him that would I think have been a very pleasant fortune, a year, the greater part of which he lived at Little Gidding, four or five miles from Huntingdon, and about 18 from Cambridge, which place he chose for the privacy of it, and the Hall which had the parish church or chapel belonging and adjoining to it; for Mr. Farrer having seen the manners and customs of the world, and found them to be, as Mr. Herbert says, 'a nothing between two dishes,' did so condemn the world, that he resolv'd to spend the remainder of his life in mortifications, and in devotion to his Maker, and to his neighbour.

II. OF HIS MANNER OF LIFE.

THE first thing that Mr. Farrer did, when he came to

Lent and all Ember-weeks strictly, both in fasting and using all those (78) prayers that the Church hath appointed to be then used; and he and they did the like constantly on Fridayes, and on the vigils or eves appointed to be fasted before the saints' dayes; and this frugality and abstinence turn'd to the relief of the poor. But this was but a part of his charity: none but God and he knew the rest.

This family, which I have said to be in number about thirty, were a part of them his kindred, and the rest chosen to be of a temper fit to be moulded into a devout life; and all of them were for their dispositions serviceable and quiet and humble, and free from scandal. Having thus fitted himself for his family, he did, about the year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical service of God, and it was in this manner: he, [being accompanied with most of his family,] did himself use to read the common prayers (for he was a deacon) every day at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the parish church, which was very near his house, and which he had both repair'd and adorn'd, for it was fall'n into a great ruine by reason of a depopulation of the village before Mr. Farrer bought the manor; and he did also constantly read the mattins every morning at the hour of six, either in the church, or in an oratory which was within his own house; and many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they spent

some hours in singing hymns or anthems, sometimes in the church, and often to an organ in the oratory. And there they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament [to themselves,] or to continue their praying or reading the psalms; and in case the psalms were not all read in the day, then Mr. Farrer and others of the congregation did at night, at the ring of a watch-bell, repair to the church or oratory, and there betook themselves to prayers, and lauding God, and reading the psalms that had not been read in the day; and when these or any part of the congregation grew weary or faint, the watch-bell was rung, sometimes before and sometimes after midnight, and then another part of the family rose and maintain'd the watch, sometimes by praying or singing lauds to God, or reading the psalms; and when after some hours they also grew weary or faint, then they rung the watch-bell, and were [also] relief'd by some of the former, or by a new part of the society, which continued their devotions as hath been mention'd until morning. And it is to be noted, that in this continual serving of God, the Psalter or whole book of Psalms was in every ten or twenty hours sung or read over from the first to the last verse; and this was done as constantly as the sun runs his circle every day about the world, and as the stars perform their courses in the firmament.

Thus did Mr. Farrer and his happy family serve

God day and night. Thus did they alwayes behave themselves as in His presence. And they did alwayes eat and drink by the strictest rules of temperance—eat and drink so as to be ready to rise at midnight or at the call of a watch-bell, and perform their devotions to God. And 'tis fit to tell the reader, that many of the clergy, that were more inclin'd to practical piety and devotion then to doubtful and needless disputations, did often come to Gidden Hall and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and join with Mr. Farrer and the family in these devotions, and assist and ease him or them in the watch by night. And these various devotions had never less than two of the domestick family in the night; and the watch was alwayes kept in the church or oratory, unless in extreme cold winter nights, and then it was maintain'd in a parlor which had a fire in it, and the parlor was fitted for that purpose. And this course of piety and great liberality to his poor neighbours Mr. Farrer maintain'd till his death, which was in the year 1639.

Mr. Farrer's and Mr. Herbert's devout lives were both so noted, that the general report of their sanctity gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge; and this new holy friendship was long maintain'd without any interview, but only by loving and endearing letters. And one testimony of their

friendship and pious designs may appear by Mr. Fernald's commending the *Obediencia y Fielidad*, or book which he had met with in his travels, and translated out of Spanish into English to be examined and censured by Mr. Herbert: before it was made publick (1700) which book Mr. Herbert did read, and returned back with many marginal notes, as that he was pained with the excellent book, and with that Mr. Herbert's distinguished letter to Mr. Fernald.

The Duke of Valdesso was a Spaniard, and was for his learning and virtue much admired and loved by the great Emperor, Charles V. when Valdesso had fulfilled a great deal of the time of his long and dangerous wars; and when Valdesso grew old, and weary both of war and the world, he took his first opportunity to declare to the emperor that his resolution was to decline his Majesty's service, and to take himself to a quiet and contemplative life, because there could be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting and lying. The emperor had himself, for the same or other like reasons, put on the same resolutions: but God and himself did then only know them, and he did therefore desire Valdesso to consider well of what he had intended to keep up, as he would, and to be content with that, and not to be any more solicitous for the world, but to be content with his lot, and to be content with his lot.

pious and free discourse, they both agreed on a certain day to] receive the blessed Sacrament publicly, and appointed an eloquent and devout fryer to preach a sermon of contempt of the world, and of the happiness and benefit of a quiet and contemplative life; which the fryer did most affectionately. After which sermon the emperor declar'd openly (82), 'that the preacher had begot in him a resolution to lay down his dignities, and to forsake the world, and betake himself to a monastical life.' And he pretended he had perswaded John Valdesso to do the like; but this is most certain, that after the emperor had called his son Philip out of England, and resign'd to him all his kingdoms, that then the emperor and John Valdesso did perform their resolutions.

This account of John Valdesso I receiv'd from a friend, that had it from the mouth of Mr. Farrer. And the reader may note, that in this retirement John Valdesso wrote his 110 Considerations, and many other treatises of worth, which want a second Mr. Farrer to procure and translate them.⁷⁴

After this account of Mr. Farrer and John Valdesso, I proceed to my account of Mr. Herbert and Mr. Duncon, who, according to his promise, return'd [from Bath (83)] the fifth day, and then found Mr. Herbert much weaker than he left him, and therefore their discourse could not be long; but at Mr. Duncon's parting with him, Mr. Herbert spoke to this purpose.

"And I pray, my brother, that as I am a saint, my brother, my friend (spoke to all him) I be a saint to you. His holy prayers remain. And let him know that I have considered that God will do what He would be, and that I am, by His grace, become now

sions, as would enrich the world with pleasure and piety.' And it appears to have done so; for there have been more than twenty thousand of them sold since the first impression.

And this ought to be noted, that when Mr. Farrer sent this book to Cambridge to be licensed for the press, the Vice-Chancellor would by no means allow the two so much-noted verses,

'Religion stands a-tiptoe in our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand.'

to be printed; and Mr. Farrer would by no means allow the book to be printed and want them. But after some time and some arguments for and against their being made publick, the Vice-Chancellor said, 'I knew Mr. Herbert well, and know that he had many heavenly speculations, and was a divine poet; but I hope the world will not take him to be an inspired prophet, and therefore I license the whole book.' So that it came to be printed without the diminution or addition of a syllable since it was delivered into the hands of Mr. Duncon, save only that Mr. Farrer hath added that excellent preface that is printed before it.

At the time of Mr. Duncon's leaving Mr. Herbert (which was about three weeks before his death), his old and dear friend Mr. Woodnot came from London to Bemerton, and never left him till he had seen him draw his last breath and clos'd his eyes on his death-bed. In this time of his decay he was often visited

that every day that I have liv'd hath taken a part of my appointed time from me, and that I shall live the less time for having liv'd this and the day past.' These and the like expressions, which he utter'd often, may be said to be his enjoyment of heaven before he enjoy'd it. The Sunday before his death he rose suddenly from his bed or couch, call'd for one of his instruments, took it into his hand, and said,

' My God, my God,
My musick shall find Thee,
And every string
Shall have his attribute to sing.'

And having tun'd it, he play'd and sung :

' The Sundayes of man's life,
Thredded together on Time's string,
Make bracelets to adorn the wife
Of the eternal glorious King;
On Sundayes heaven's dore stands ope;
Blessings are plentiful and rife,
More plentiful than hope.'

Thus he sung on earth such hymns and anthems as the angels and he and Mr. Farrer now sing in heaven.

Thus he continued meditating and praying and rejoycing till the day of his death ; and on that day said to Mr. Woodnot : ' My dear friend, I am sorry I have nothing to present to my merciful God but sin and misery ; but the first is pardon'd, and a few hours will now put a period to the latter, for I shall suddenly go hence and be no more seen.' Upon which expression

into that cabinet, in which you may easily find my last will, and give it into my hand ;' which being done he deliver'd it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and said, ' My old friend, I here deliver you my last will, in which you will find that I have made you my sole executor for the good of my wife and neeces ; and I desire you to show kindness to them, as they shall need it. I do not desire you to be just, for I know you will be so for your own sake. But I charge you, by the religion of our friendship, to be careful of them.' And having obtain'd Mr. Woodnot's promise to be so, he said, ' I am now ready to die.' After which words he said, ' Lord, grant me mercy, for the merits of my Jesus, (88) And now, Lord, receive my soul.' And with those words he breath'd forth his divine soul without any apparent disturbance, Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock attending his last breath and closing his eyes.

Thus he liv'd and thus he dy'd like a saint, unspotted of the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility and all the examples of a virtuous life, which I cannot conclude better then with this borrowed observation :

' All must to their cold graves ;
But the religious actions of the just
Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust.'"

Mr. George Herbert's have done so to this, and will doubtless do so to succeeding generations, (89)

There is a debt justly due to the memory of Mr. Herbert's virtuous wife; a part of which I will endeavour to pay in a very short compass of the most striking and lively, which shall follow.

Mrs. Herbert was the wife of Sir Robert eight years, and liv'd his widow about fifteen ; all which time she took a pleasure in mentioning and commending the excellencies of Mr. George Herbert. She died in the year 1663, and lies buried at Highnam;⁷⁸ Mr. Herbert in his own church under the altar, and cover'd with a gravestone without any inscription.⁷⁹

This Lady Cook had preserv'd many of Mr. Herbert's private writings, which she intended to make publick; but they and Highnam House were burnt together by the late rebels, and so lost to posterity (91); and by them was also burnt or destroyed a choice library which Mr. Herbert had fastned with chains in a fit room in Montgomery Castle, being by him dedicated to the succeeding Herberts that should become the owners of it. He dyed without an enemy, if Andrew Melvin dyed before him.

- (75) p. 65, 'Mr. Duncen found him *weak, and,*'
 (76) p. 65, 'and after *some discourse,*'
 (77) p. 67, 'Mr. Farrer had . . . or both : ' added later.
 (78) p. 68, 'using all those *mortifications and prayers,*'
 (79) p. 71, '*before it was made publick :*' added later. Later 'that excellent book' cancelled.
 (80) p. 71, 'old, and *grew weary both of war and the world,*'
 (81) p. 71, 'Valdesso promis'd to do.'
 (82) p. 72, 'the emperor *took occasion to declare,*'
 (83) p. 72, '*the Bath :*' added later, but 'the' seems an error.
 (84) p. 73, '*the decaying condition of my body :*' 1670 simpler and better.
 (85) p. 73, 'and *tell him, that I do not repine, but am pleased with :*' 1670 preferable.
 (86) p. 73, 'with *so sweet a humility,*'
 (87) p. 75, '*conversation, are now all past by me like a dream, or as a shadow that returns not, and are now all become dead to me :*' 1670 again simpler and preferable.
 (88) p. 78, 'which words he said, Lord, *forsake me not, now my strength faileth me ; but . . . And now, Lord, Lord now receive :*' 1670 once more simpler and better.
 (89) p. 78, 'succeeding generations. I have but this to say more of him, that if *Andrew Melvin* died before him, then George Herbert died without an enemy. I wish (if God shall be so pleased) that I may be so happy as to die like him : ' added later. Cf. close onward.
 (90) p. 79. In 1670 '*five years.*' She was a widow 'about *four,*'
 (91) p. 80, '*posterity ; and by them,*' &c. The clause after 'posterity' was afterwards cancelled. G.

APPENDIX B

Additional Notices of Herbert by Isaac Walton in his other Works.

For the life of that great example of holiness, Mr. George Herbert, I profess it to be so far a *free-will offering*, that it

was writ chiefly to please myself, but yet not without some respect to posterity: for though he was not a man that the next age can forget, yet many of his particular acts and virtues might have been neglected or lost if I had not collected and presented them to the imitation of those that shall succeed us; for I humbly conceive writing to be both a safer and truer preserver of men's virtuous actions than tradition, especially as it is practised in this age. And I am also to tell the reader that though this life of Mr. Herbert was not writ by me in haste, yet I intended it a review before it should be made public, but that was not allowed me, by reason of my absence from London, when it was printed, so that the reader may find in it some mistakes, some odd flow expressions, and some not very poetical, and some that might have been contracted, and some faults that are not easily observable upon me, but the printer, and yet I hope none so great as may not, by this confession, purchase pardon from a good natured reader.

Written by the Author, *Octob: 1633* *London.*

Life of the Learned J. De Witt.

And in this enumeration of his friends, though many must be omitted, yet that man of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert, may not. I mean that George Herbert who was the author of the *Temple, or Sacred Poems and Prayers*, a book in which, by declaring his own spirit full conflicts, he hath raised many neglected and discomposed souls, and cleared them into sweet and quiet thoughts; a book, by the frequent reading whereof and the assistance of that Spirit that seemed to inspire the author, the reader may attain abilities of piety and *poetry*, and all the gifts of the Holy Ghost and Heaven; and by still reading, still keep those sacred fire, that the *Temple* hath altar of so pure a heart as shall be freed from the vanities of the world and fix upon things that are above. Betwixt him and Dr. Donne there was a love, and their friendship, and happy discourse was partly of religion, and that they conversed and agreed to be in each others company, and this happy friendship was still continued by many sweet and comfortable letters, that which beloveth may be some testimony.

To Mr. George Herbert, with one of my Scales of the Anchor and Christ. A sheaf of Snakes used heretofore to be my Seal, which is the Crest of our poor Family.

Qui prius assuctus serpentum falee tabellas
Signare, hæc nostra symbola parva domus
Adscitus domui domini.

Adopted in God's family, and so
My old coat lost, into new arms I go.
The crosse my seal in Baptism, spread below,
Does by that form into an anchor grow.
Crosses grow anchors; bear as thou shouldst do
Thy crosse, and that crosse grows an anchor too.
But He that makes our crosses anchors thus
Is Christ, Who there is crucify'd for us.
Yet with this I may my first serpents hold;
God gives new blessings, and yet leaves the old.
The serpent may, as wise, my pattern be,
My poyson, as he feeds on dust, that's me.
And, as he rounds the earth to murder, sure
He is my death; but on the Cross my cure.
Crucifie nature, then; and then implore
All grace from Him, crucify'd there before.
When all is crosse, and that crosse anchor grown,
This scale's a catechisme, not a seal alone.
Under that little seal great gifts I send,
Both workes and prayers, pawnes and fruits of a friend.
Oh may that saint that rides on our great seal
To you that beare his name large bounty deal!

J. DONNE.

In Sacram Anchoram Piscatoris, George Herbert.

Quod Crux nequillet nisi clavique additi,
Tenere Christum scilicet ne ascenderet,
Tuive Christum.

Although the Cross could not Christ here detain
When nail'd unto't, but He ascends again;
Nor yet thy eloquence here keep Him still,
But only whilst thou speakest this anchor will:

Nor canst thou be content unless thou say:
 This content! And on address'd drunkards
 The water and the earth both turn to blood,
 Do owe the symbols of their deity.
 Let the World rock, we and all ours stand firm;
 This honey-cake's from all storms secure.

G. H.

Love neere his death desired to end
With kind expressions to his friend
He said, I wish that I did write thee now
He gave his soul, and so gave o're, G. HERBERT.

The *Table of Donne*, second edition, 1658, pp. 81-85; cf. variations of these four closing lines in Vol. II, p. 169, where the reader will please read 'r' for 'e' in the last line).

But, sir, best third course – more consolation, I say – is
it a sweet conclusion out of that last poet, Mr. George Herbert,
his divine contentment, in God's post, alone.

(Vol. I, p. 157, fig. 111)

Phoebe. And how can I share in your joy, if I do not share in it with this shadow of a sin upon my heart? And how can I share with you, and so be pleasured by the flowers of the garden and the earth-smile as sweetly too? Come let me tell you what holy Mr. Herbert says of such days and flowers as these, and then we will thank God that we enjoy them; and walk to the river and sit down on a log, and have tea, and talk of the flowers and

(Val. 1 p. 100)

and to those you love. Christ says that you love and have so much to love that I.

I am my former scholar, and I am pleased to know that you are so well pleased with my direction and direction. And since you like these Verses of Mr. Herbert's so well, let me tell you what a reverend and learned divine, Ch. Harvey, that professes to imitate him, and has indeed done so most exactly, hath writ of our Book of Common Prayer, which I think you will like the better, because he is a friend of mine, and I am sure no enemy to any thing.

W. Herbert, *to his Mother*, *Y. 1679* *ms.*

See The Synagogue, or Shadow of The Temple, by Christopher Harvey, in volume accompanying our edition of HERBERT, letter No. 13.

APPENDIX C.

Letters of Dr. Donne to his Mother the Lady Magdalen Herbert.

1. Letter to his Mother originally published in Watson's Life in 1679.

I. To the wealthiest Lady, M^{rs}. Magdalen Herbert.

Madam. Every excuse hath in it somewhat of accusation; and since I am innocent, and yet must excuse, how shall I do for that part of accusing? By my troth, as desperate and perplexed men grow from thence bold, so must I take the boldness of accusing you, who would draw so dark a curtain betwixt me and your purposes, as that I had no glimmering, either of your goings nor the way which my letters might haunt. Yet I have given this licence to travel, but I know not whither, nor it. It is therefore rather a pinnace to discover, and the intire colony of letters, of hundreds and fifties, must follow; whose employment is more honourable than that which our State meditates to Virginia, because you are worthier than all that countrey, of which that is a wretched inch; for you have better treasure and a harmless one. If this sound like a flattery, tear it out. I am to my letters as Ovid a Puitane as Cesar was to his wife.

JOHN DONNELLY

and *Herbert*.

1. Fe^{2+} , P^{3-} , O^{2-} , D^{2+}
 2. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 3. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 4. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 5. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 6. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 7. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 8. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 9. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 10. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 11. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 12. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 13. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 14. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 15. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 16. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 17. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 18. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 19. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 20. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}

H. B. V. Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-} W^{2+}

O Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 H Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 F Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 A Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 E Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 T Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 N Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 O Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 T Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 D Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 F Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 F Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 F Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 S Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 C Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 F Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 J Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}
 F Fe^{2+} , O^{2-} , P^{3-}

Thine—what a poetry richer than dost give
 Wherein we clergy, hooded, kneel and live!
 What an ideal for a pastor's life
 Back in thy book, and the need, plain wholly
 On something and numbers and letters laid
 Is this so simple an idea type we find!
 A type how true unto thy 'Master's dream'
 That only, 'not the map we know here',
 The Pope may choose what saint he will,
 And to himself, 'one made, not accepted', till
 And set up. Herbert, be thou saint to me
 And for me pray—I fain would say to thee;
 But no such honours to the saints belong,
 Nor wouldst thou even wish for what is wrong.
 Thee, as is fitting, I will still recall,
 Not call on, or before thine image fall.
 Such a saint's life be read—'poet and priest'
 Thy is the heaven's heart, thy gift, thy grace
 And thy example points to heaven's truest grace.
 O William, per ever, and I say to thee
 And with thy stilling, and thy stilling,
 Most like to saints in this world live
 Be still, do thou and poet and saint alike
 We live, 'as ever', while thou dost pray
 Thou dost thyself and thou with life endure
 Lasting beyond the grave; and unto thee
 Thy reader will owe thanks eternally.
 Then ply thy task; but I would have thee know,
 Though like a second Plutarch's thy page glow,
 No parallel to Herbert thou wilt show.
 But to thy book thou mayst assign this crown;
 Whether as man or poet, his renown
 Were greater; whether most as friend he shone,
 Or as himself—
 And now could this be easily expressed
 Where he was better who was always best!

R. W.

III. AS LETTER UPON THE HONOUR OF GEORGE HERBERT.

Ye few upon earth, and ye many we trust,

Ye few upon earth, and ye many we trust,

Ye few upon earth, and ye many we trust,

(Cheng 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652,

IV. On Mr. George Herbert's Sacred Poems called

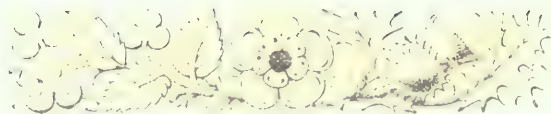
Down she must go, with all her pomp and train,
 For ever, ever, ever, ever,
 No more to be renew'd, but ever on the wane;
 And Poetry, now grown divine, alone must ever reign.

182.

A monument of this victory
 Our David, our sweet Psalmist, rais'd on high,
 When he this Giant under foot did tread,
 And with Verse—his own sword—cut off the monster's head,
 For as a sling and heavy directed stone
 Laid flat the Gathite champion, who alone
 Made thousands tremble, while he proudly stood
 Bidding defiance to the hosts of Goliath;
 So tell th' infernal Powers before the face
 Of mighty Herbert: who upon the place
 A Temple built, that does outgo
 Both Solomon's and Herod's tower,
 And all the temples of the Gods by far;
 So costly the materials, and the workmenhip so rare,
 A Temple truly as God bid once contain,
 Without the saws but sound of saw,
 Or the immortal hammer's vibration,
 But only with the voice, Music's sweetest strain,
 In which the angels sing, and all the choir

183.

Hail, heavenly, Bard to whom our Love has said,
 (His numbers find no loss to express)
 To bear his throne mysterious office,
 Prophet and Priest on Earth then wast, and now remain on
 Heav'n,
 Then thou dost reign, and thou
 Thy business is the same it was here,
 To teach the human mind
 Thy Angels and thy heavenly choir
 Gather the human mind
 To their celestial mansions, and to thy holy fire,
 Where, as the sun, thou dost shine,
 Ourselves to thy light bring,



NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

¹ p. 9, 'Saint Mary Magdalen . . . possess with seven devils.' Every opportunity ought to be embraced of correcting the 'vulgar error' of confounding Mary of Magdala with the Mary out of whom 'seven devils' were cast. There is no warrant whatever for regarding the two as one. Few more-to-be-lamented things have been done than giving the name of 'Magdalen' to unfortunate women and institutions for their recovery.

² p. 9, 'alabaster box.' Such is the common contemporary spelling, as also in proper names, *e.g.* Dr. William Alabaster, the poet and divine, whose arms suggest the origin to be from *arenabalista*, and synonymous with arbalastier.

³ p. 10, 'officious'—duty-ful, not in our ill sense of over-duty-ful, or beyond what is fitting for a man's place and position.

⁴ p. 11, 'The place of his birth was near to the town of Montgomery, and in that *castle* that did then bear the name of that town and county.' It would appear from Lord Herbert of Cherbury's 'Autobiography' that the old mansion of Black Hall, rather than Montgomery Castle, was the birthplace of our Herbert. The following speaks for itself: 'My grandfather's power was so great in the country, that divers ancestors of the better families now in Montgomeryshire were his servants, and raised by him. He delighted also much in hospitality, as having a very long table covered every meal with the best meats that could be gotten, and a very great family. It was an ordinary saying in the country at that time, when they saw any fowl rise, "Fly where thou wilt, thou wilt light at Black Hall;" which was a low building of great capacity erected in his age. . . . His father and himself in former times having lived in Montgomery Castle' (p. 12, as before). Black Hall was a quaint old-fashioned family residence, that stood nearer the town than the castle. It was destroyed by fire many years since. From

this doubt (to say the least of Montgomery Castle having been George Herbert's birthplace, the utterly unsatisfactory character of Mayor's little vignette of the ruins, in common with older, is the less to be regretted.

² p. 11. 'those wretches that were the cause of it.' Walton was royalist (*ultra*), and given to scurril words of those who held to the Parliament, as placing the rights and liberties of the kingdom higher than those of any king, and much more such kings as were concerned in the Civil War earlier and the Restoration later. In addition to our remarks in Memorial-Introduction (Vol. I. p. xxxiv.), it is difficult historically and geographically to discover what branch of the Herbert family could have suffered by the R. rebellion. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, to whom Montgomery Castle then belonged, was among its defenders against the king's forces when relieved by General William Brereton on the 18th of September 1644: as told in a striking contemporary account of the siege and the Parliament's victory now before me, and of which this is the title-page (abridged): 'Letters from Sir William Brereton, Sir Thomas Middleton, Sir John Meldrum, of the great victory, by God's providence, given them in raising the siege from before Montgomery Castle, and how they totally routed and totally dispersed his Majesty's forces,' &c. (1644.) In a post-script to Sir William Brereton's letter we read, 'The L. Herbert is come away with us towards Oswestry;' and again onward: 'The Castle is relieved with victuals, Sir Thomas Middleton's soldiers, who were before us prisoners, are made free, together with the Lord Herbert of Cherburie.' Proof seems lacking that Lord Herbert of Cherbury played fast and loose. Royalist charges are worthless, especially in contemporary letters informed with contemporary passion. In certain of these he is called 'treacherous'; but I can find no basis for the accusation. He seems to have adhered to the Parliament throughout.

³ p. 13. 'The Duke de Luynes.' This is Charles de Luynes, Duc de Luynes. A full narrative is given by Lord Herbert in his 'Autobiography,' as before, of his many encounters with the Duke de Luynes, and of his capture of the Duke's baggage-train. He notices these, as thus: 'My Lord Hayes is by this time, as I thought, with the army; for Sir Edward Herbert is returned, having had some clashing and counteduffs with the favourite Luynes, wherein he comported himself bravely' (Possible Letters, book ii. 13, letter vi.).

* p. 13, 'He was a man of great learning,' &c. His 'Autobiography,' which since its original publication has been edited by Horace Walpole and by Sir Walter Scott, is his most enduring book, the others being rather landmarks in the history of English speculative opinion than vital to-day. Lord Herbert's scepticism was very much theoretical and philosophical, not theological. He had a cunning credulity in his disbeliefs. Two things are noticeable, viz. that (*a*) he had family prayers habitually, and on Sundays greatly relished listening to silver-tongued Henry Smith's 'sermons,' than which more pungent as more evangelical could not easily have been found; (*b*) Richard Baxter addressed a most powerful and kindly-toned epistle-dedictory to Sir Henry Herbert, prefixed to his very remarkable little treatise entitled 'More Reasons for the Christian Religion and no Reason against it . . . 1672' (18mo), and therein he writes trenchantly yet tenderly of *De Veritate*, thus closing his notice of it: 'I may well suppose that your approbation of the cause I plead for will make it needless to me to apologise for my boldness in meddling much with such an author, while I do it with all tenderness of his deserved honour.' Of George Herbert he also writes: 'The excellently holy as well as learned and ingenious person Mr. George Herbert, orator to the University of Cambridge, and a faithful pastor in the English Church.' See my annotated list of the Writings of Richard Baxter, pp. 31-2.

* p. 13, 'a menial servant,' *i.e.* household servant, one of the household. Bailey guesses at a derivation from *monia*. Richardson confounds it with the root of 'many.' Du Cange gives *meniallia*, &c., as from Fr. *mangaille*, and from its usage there is no doubt that as to the derivation of his meniallia he is right. Nor would it be difficult from the same mangaille to give a plausible derivation of menial as one fed by the master. But as noted by Way, *s.v.*, *Mony* familia in Prompt. Parv., the old English meny or meyney, household, train, or retinue, is the French maynie or maisnie. These, like madsen, maina, and mainage (*ménage*), come apparently from or of the same root as *mansio*. Richardson quotes from Wiclif, 'meyneal chirehe for salutate et domesticum ecclesiam eorum' (Romans xvi, 5). See Way, *ut supra*, and Du Cange, *s.v.c.*, Maina, Mainata, Masnata, &c.; though under Mainagium he seems to run off unnecessarily to another derivation, 'a main manns, quasi manualis possessio.'

* p. 13, 'Sir Robert Mansell.' He was third son of Sir Ed

ward Mansell, Chamberlain of Chester, by Lady Jane Somerset, daughter of Henry Earl of Worcester. He was knighted by the Earl of Essex in 1596 for his services in the capture of Cadix, and was afterwards Vice-admiral of the Fleet under Kings James and Charles I. He died at a great age in 1656.

¹⁶ p. 14, brothers and sisters of George Herbert. The following notices of the members of the Herbert family are taken from Lord Herbert of Cherbury's 'Autobiography,' as before:

'Notwithstanding these expenses at home, he [grandfather] brought up his children well, married his daughters to the better sort of persons near him, and bringing up his younger sons at the University; from whence his son Matthew went to the Low Country wars; and after some time spent there came home, and lived in the county at Doleport upon a house and fair living which my grandfather bestowed upon him. His son also, Charles Herbert, after he had past some time in the Low Countries, likewise returned home, and was after married to an inheretrix, whose eldest son, called Sir Edward Herbert, knight, is the king's attorney general. His son George, who was of New College in Oxford, was very learned, and of a pious life; died in a middle age of a dropsy.' . . . 'The names of her [mother's] children were, Elizabeth, Margaret, Frances, George, Henry, Thomas; her daughters were Elizabeth, Margaret, Frances; of all whom I will say a little before I begin a narration of my own life, so I may pursue my intended purpose more entirely. My brother Richard, after he had been brought up in learning, went to the Low Countries, where he continued many years with much reputation, both in the wars and for fighting single duels, which were many; in-somuch that between both he carried, as I have been told, the scars of four and twenty wounds upon him to his grave, and both buried in

Beverly, in the Monastery of the Holy Trinity, where he lived some years, and died in the year 1610. My brother George, who was of New College in Oxford, was very learned, and of a pious life; died in a middle age of a dropsy, in the year 1610. My brother Thomas, who was of New College in Oxford, was very learned, and of a pious life; died in a middle age of a dropsy, in the year 1610. My brother Henry, who was of New College in Oxford, was very learned, and of a pious life; died in a middle age of a dropsy, in the year 1610. My brother Margaret, who was of New College in Oxford, was very learned, and of a pious life; died in a middle age of a dropsy, in the year 1610. My brother Elizabeth, who was of New College in Oxford, was very learned, and of a pious life; died in a middle age of a dropsy, in the year 1610.

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whose English works are extant, which, though they be rare in their kind, yet are far short of expressing those perfections he had in the Greek and Latin tongue and all divine and human literature: his life was most holy and exemplary, inasmuch that about Salisbury, where he lived benefited for many three years, he was little less than sainted. He was not exempt from passion and choler, being infirmities to which all our race is subject, but that excepted, without reproach in his actions. Henry, after he had been brought up in learning as the other brothers were, was sent by his friends into France, where he attained the language of that country in much perfection: after which time he came to Court, and was made Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, and Master of the Revels; by which means, as also by a good marriage, he attained to great fortunes for himself and posterity to enjoy. He also hath given several proofs of his courage in duels and otherwise, being no less dexterous in the ways of the Court, as having gotten much by it. My brother Thomas was a posthumous, as being born some weeks after his father's death. He also, being brought up awhile at school, was sent as a page to Sir Edward Cecil afterwards Viscount Wimbledon, Lord-general of his Majesty's auxiliary forces to the princes in Germany, and was particularly at the siege of Juliers, viz. 1610, where he showed such forwardness as no man in that great army before him was more adventurous on all occasions. Being returned from thence, he went to the East Indies, under the command of Captain Joseph, who on his way thither meeting with a great Spanish ship, was unfortunately killed in fight with them: whereupon his men being disheartened, my brother Thomas encouraged them to revenge the loss, and renewed the fight in that manner (as Sir John Smyth, Governor of the East India Company, told me) at several times, that they forced the Spanish ship to run aground, where the English shot her through and through so often that she ran herself aground, and was left wholly unserviceable. After which time he, with the rest of the fleet, came to Surat, and from thence went with the merchants to the Great Mogul, where, after he had staid about a twelvemonth, he returned with the same fleet back again to England. After this he served in the navy which King James sent to Algier, under the command of Sir Robert Mansel; where our men being in great numbers slain and captured, and many ships scattering them selves to try whether they could obtain a prize, whereby to

relieve the whole fleet, it was his hap to meet with a ship, which he took, and in it to the value of eighteen hundred pounds, which, it was thought, saved the whole fleet from perishing. He conducted also Count Mansfelt to the Low Countries in one of the king's ships, which, being unfortunately cast away not far from the shore, the count, together with his company, saved themselves in a long boat or shalop, the benefit whereof my said brother refused to take for the present, as resolving to assist the master of the ship, who endeavoured by all means to clear the ship from the danger; but finding it impossible, he was the last man that saved himself in the long-boat; the master thereof yet refusing to come away, so that he perished together with the ship. After this he commanded one of the ships that were sent to bring the prince from Spain, where, upon his return, there being a fight between the Low Countrymen and the Dunkirkers, the prince, who thought it was not for his dignity to suffer them to fight in his presence, commanded some of his ships to part them; whereupon my said brother, with some other ships, got betwixt them on either side, and shot so long that both parties were glad to desist. After he had brought the prince safely home, he was appointed to go with one of the king's ships to the Narrow Seas. He also fought divers times with great courage and success with divers men in single fight, sometimes hurting and disarming his adversary, and sometimes driving him away. After all these proofs given of himself, he expected some great command; but finding himself, as he thought, undervalued, he retired to a private and melancholy life, being much discontented to find others preferred to him; in which sullen humour having lived many years, he died, and was buried in London in St. Martin's near Charing cross; so that of all my brothers none survived but Henry.

Elizabeth, my eldest sister, was married to Sir Henry Jones of Albemarle, who had by her one son and two daughters; the latter end of her time was the most sickly and miserable that hath been known in our times, while for the space of about fourteen years she languished and pined away to skin and bone, till she died, and was buried in the church of St. Andrew called — near Cheapside. Margaret was married to John A. — — — — — of the County of A. — — — — — by such match some former differences betwixt our house and that were appeased and reconciled. He had by her three daughters

and heirs, Dorothy, Maudalen, and Katherine, of which the two latter only survive. The estate of the Vaughans yet went to the heirs male, although not so clearly but that the entail was broken, and the lands was granted. Thomas Vaughan, who was married to Sir John Brown, knight, in his house, and had by her five children, the eldest son being now about 16 years, had at his death, in one of which Thomas succeeded. These are of a great family in Lincolnshire. I will say no more, for more concerning all these, but it is not my purpose to particularise their lives. I have related only some passages concerning them to the best of my memory, being assured I have not failed much in my relation of them (ed. Moxon, *u.d.*, pp. 12, 13-14).

¹⁰ p. 14, 'Dr. Neale.' Richard Neale, second son of Paul Neale, a tallow-chandler of Westminster, where he was born in 1561-2. He became Dean of Westminster in 1605, and was afterwards Bishop successively of Rochester, Exeter, and Lichfield, Lincoln, Durham, and Winchester; and finally Abp. of York in 1631-2. He died 5th Oct. 1649, and was buried in York Minster.

¹¹ p. 14, 'Mr. Ireland.' Richard Ireland was educated at Westminster School, whence he was elected to Oxford in 1587. He was afterwards Lecturer of Westminster School, 1599-1619. Very little has descended concerning him.

¹² p. 15, 'Dr. Nevill.' Camden called him 'magnificent,' and in every way he seems to have been a splendid man. His benefactions to Trinity College, Cambridge are still remembered by the name 'Nevill's Gifts.' He took a prominent part in the preparation of the 'Lambeth Articles,' being a Calvinist. He died May 2, 1615. (Full details in Todd's 'Deans of Canter-

¹³ p. 15, 'Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby.' There was but one Lord Danvers, viz. Henry Danvers, second son of Sir John Danvers, Knt. by Lady Elizabeth, daughter of John Nevill, Lord Sutherland. He was born at Dauntsey, Wilts. 28th June 1573; created Baron Danvers in 1603, and Earl of Danby 7th February 1625-6. He died 20th January 1643-4, and was buried at Dauntsey. The death of Lord Danvers in 1643-4 makes it probable that Bosc. described in his monument, and to which Camden's entry was added the name of 'G. Herbert,' must refer to one of the persons concerned in and applied to Lord Danvers, viz. the Earl of Danby, who died in 1632-3. In Phoenix

Esq., of an ancient family of *Netherole* House in *Wolvenseat*, county Kent, where he resided during the most of his life; but during the Civil Wars he retired to Polesworth in Warwickshire, where he died and was buried in 1659.

²² p. 24. 'Basilicon Doron:' 'Basilicon Doron, divided into three bookes. Edinburgh, printed by Robert Waldegrave, printer to the Kings Majesty, 1599' (Ho). After-*editions* 1603 onward. From this book came those seeds that, sown in Charles I.'s *over-ripe heart*, yielded the *barbaric harvest* of the Civil War and accompanying tragedies. Poor in thought and style, 'Basilicon Doron' is not without touches of shrewdness and the usual un disciplined learning (or miscellaneous reading).

²³ p. 24. 'Quid Vaticanum,' &c. This couplet will be found in its place in the letters, and 'glorified' in Dean Duport's lines on Herbert (Vol. II, pp. cix-x.).

²⁴ p. 25. Andrew Melville. Second only in intellect and genius to John Knox among the Scottish reformers, Melville was his equal in intrepidity and his superior in culture. His life by Dr. McCrie has taken its place among the masterpieces of modern biography. In the light of it, Walton's miserable and ungracious *detraction* (born of utter ignorance) and Herbert's poor epigrams fade away. He was born 1545, died 1622; and his death was passionately lamented by the foremost scholars and divines of Protestant Europe.

²⁵ p. 25. Lady Arabella. She was daughter of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox, the younger brother of Henry Earl of Darndley, father of James I. She was born at Hampstead in 1577, and received an education in advance of the age. She incurred the displeasure of James by marrying William Seymour, grandson of the Earl of Hertford, for which she was sent to the Tower. She subsequently made her escape thence, but was retaken, brought back, and died there in 1615. The 'Ara' of her name gave Melville opportunity to pun on the occasion of her being sent to the Tower, viz. her going to the altar (*ara*), *i.e.* her marriage, and his own imprisonment for his sarcastic verses on the 'ara' of the king's private chapel. There are full details on the altar matter in Melville's 'Autobiography' and Calderwood's 'History of the Kirk of Scotland,' *s.v.* No one well informed will doubt that Andrew Melville was in the right and the king consciously in the wrong. Cf. also D'Israeli's 'Curiosities of Literature,' *s.c.*

²⁶ p. 26. 'Dr. Duport's . . . hath lately collected,' &c. See

the title page in Vol. II, p. 88. 'Lately' was used loosely, the date being 1662.

to be taken from its hiding place. In every way its recovery is worthy to be desired. See Vol. I, pp. xxiii, iv.

¹⁰ p. 28, seals from Dr. Donne. In our 160 form of the 1600 volume we reproduce these seals. Donne's letters, and the Loseley mss. are sealed with the crest of his family, a shield of snakes. On taking orders he is believed to have exchanged this device for one of his own imagining Christ fixed to an anchor instead of a cross. As in the text, he used to send copies as gifts among his friends. Walton, it will be seen, states that the gift seals were made 'not long before his death.' Mr. Kempe (Loseley mss.) that it was on taking orders. Both seem correct. The new device was adopted on taking orders; the seals bequeathed, fashioned according to it, were at the end. In the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1807, a representation of the seal was given, and again in December 1835.

¹¹ p. 28, lines on the seals. These are placed among Herbert's Poems now. See Vol. II, p. 169. See Variations in Appendix B to Life by Walton for Life of Donne.

¹² p. 28, 'sincere . . . formerly given to her favourite, Sir Philip Sidney.' *For the first time*, this 'sincere' has been traced. See our Memorial Introduction in Vol. I, pp. xlix.-lii.

¹³ p. 28, 'gentile.' See note 12.

¹⁴ p. 29, Herbert Thorndike: well known later as an ecclesiastical writer. He was third son of Francis Thorndike of Scamblesby, county Lincoln, and born about 1598; Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Prebendary of Lincoln, 1636; but resigned in 1640, and became Vicar of Claybrooke, county Leicester. He was Prebendary of Westminster in 1662. He died at Chiswick, Middlesex, 11th July 1672, and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

¹⁵ p. 29, '*Affliction*?' see Poems, Vol. I, pp. 51-54.

¹⁶ p. 30, On the close of this poem, see our note, Vol. I, p. 281.

¹⁷ p. 31, Lodowick Duke of Richmond. Ludovic Stuart, eldest son of Esme Lord D'Aubigny, first Earl and Duke of Lennox, born 29th September 1574; succeeded his father in 1583 as second Duke of Lennox, and was created Duke of Richmond in 1623. He died 16th February 1623-4, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. The following booklet was published: 'Cleaveland's Mournefull of Mortalitie, upon the Death and Funerall of Lodowick Duke of Richmond and Lennox, Lord High Admirall and Great Chamberlaine of Scotland,' 1624 (160).

On 19 p. 31, James Marquis of Hamilton, 2nd Marquis of Hamilton, succeeded his father John in 1694, and died 2d March 1695. His eldest son, John James, succeeded as third marquis, and was beheaded for his loyalty in O'Flaherty's 7th Massacre of 1691. His illegitimate son, James, 11th Duke of Hamilton, was executed in 1708.

man, both at Barton Seagrave, co. Lincs., Northampton, in 1502. He became Bishop of Salisbury in 1600, and was translated to the see of London in 1663. He died 7th October 1675, and was buried at Fulham.

⁵⁹ p. 49, 'Convince'—overcome, in sense of confute his practice.

⁶⁰ p. 55, 'as Reverend Hooker says:' cf. 'The Church of Polity,' book v. lxix. 4, lxx., and throughout on festivals.

⁶¹ p. 58, 'Joshua:' see Joshua xxiv. 15, originally by inadvertence 'David.'

⁶² p. 58, 'Saint's bell.' The small bell used to call to prayer, &c. The sacring or, as Cotgrave also calls it, 'antham bell' (Fr. *martinet*). Nares curiously says by corruption, *same* bell; whereas 'saint's' is clearly a corruption from *sance* for *sancte*.

⁶³ p. 61, 'Dr. Lake:' born 1559, died Bishop of Chichester May 1, 1626. His folio of 'Sermons,' &c. is a treasure.

⁶⁴ p. 62, 'And now let's tune our instruments.' While the preceding sentences have been printed in italics, the following, hitherto, which seems to give it to Walton instead of Herbert, to whom it really belongs.

⁶⁵ p. 63, 'being:' a not unfrequent use—it being so, that &c.

⁶⁶ p. 64, 'deodate:' cf. our edition of MARVELL (vol. i. pp. 57-8): 'deodand, *i.e.* forfeit or given to God (*deo datus*).'

⁶⁷ p. 65, 'Bostock:' it is to be regretted that nothing further has reached us of this excellent man, and friend of Herbert's. It will be noticed that his name occurs memorably in Herbert's will: see Vol. I, pp. lxiii.-v. 'Fulston' op. lxiii.—Fuglestone, the complaint *exco.* *Quæstiones Mathematicæ* (1602) p. 100, and recent. See an anastatic edition of the *Philosophiæ* Vol. I, p. 43.

⁶⁸ p. 66, 'gentile,' see note 67.

⁶⁹ p. 66, 'fit age:' later editions, 'an early age.'

⁷⁰ p. 67, 'buy:' later editions, 'purchase.'

⁷¹ p. 69, 'shall read:' later editions, 'always.'

⁷² p. 74, 'letter to Mr. Ferrar.' See it in the present volume, with the notes on Valdesso.

⁷³ p. 72, Valdesso. See introductory note to Herbert's letter, and notes on the 'Considerations' on page 1.

⁷⁴ p. 73, 'daily prayers for me.' One of Ferrar's prayers for Herbert has been preserved. I give it here from Mayon's 'Ferrar,' as before. 'I shall here set down a paper which I find amongst some other pressures, the which will

⁷⁷ p. 79, Sir Robert Cook of Highnam. Sir Anthony Cooke of Gidea Hall, county Essex, knight, the well-known preceptor of King Edward VI. - besides his four equally famous daughters, who married respectively Sir William Cecil (Lord Treasurer Burghley), Sir Nicholas Bacon (Keeper of the Great Seal), Lord John Russell, and Sir Henry Killigrew - had two sons, Richard and William. The second son, William, married Frances, daughter of John Lord Grey (brother of Henry Duke of Suffolk), and had a son, Sir William Cooke, who married Joyce, daughter of Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, county Warwick, knight, who was sole heir to her mother, viz. Dorothy, only daughter and heir of Rowland Arnold of Highnam, county Gloucester, Esq. She carried the estate of Highnam to her husband, who died 2d March 1618-9, and was succeeded by his only surviving son and heir, viz. our present Sir Robert Cooke of Highnam, who was knighted at Amptill, Beds. 21st July 1621. He married first, Dorothy, daughter of Sir Miles Fleetwood of Aldwinckle, county Northampton, knight; and secondly, as in the text, Jane, widow of George Herbert. He died in June 1643, aged 45; hence was born about 1598. By his second wife, Jane, he had three sons, Charles, Robert, and Robert, who all died young, and one daughter, Jane, who married first, Sir Dawes Wymondesold of Putney, county Surrey, knight; and secondly, Thomas Frewen, Esq., of Brickwall, county Sussex.

⁷⁸ p. 80, 'lies buried at Highnam.' 'This may seem rather puzzling to those who know that there was no church at Highnam until the year 1851, when one was erected there by the munificence of a gentleman who is still living. On the authority of this gentleman, Mr. Gambler Parry, who became possessed of the Highnam estate about twenty-one years ago, I am able to throw some light on this matter, which I do not consider so interesting to the lovers of George Herbert. Latron of the present mansion of Highnam Court there once stood a small chapel, the site of which is now marked only by a slight undulation of ground on the lawn. When the garden was laid out, now about fourteen years ago, graves were found in the ground; what was to have been a small altar-piece, with the arms and crest once stopped there, and the foundations of the walls. Over the spot where foundations were discovered Mr. Parry planted a cedar, and cut off its leading shoots, so that it should spread wide over ground which, if not actually consecrated, was yet hallowed by the burials of former worshippers on that spot. Here then, in

ad probability, sleeps the widow of George Herbert. For I should add that when, owing to the extent of the parish of Churcham, which is the mother parish of Highnam, and the scattered dwellings of the inhabitants, Highnam was made a parish in itself, and a church built within its bounds, it was thought better to leave the crumbling remains where they had long reposed, rather than to disturb them by removal to the newly-consecrated churchyard. It is remarkable that the parish register of Churcham contains no entry of the burial of Lady Cooke, nor is there any memorial of her either there or in the neighbouring church of Lassingdean' (Letter of B. H. Beedham, Esq., Ashtfield House, Kimbolton, to 'Salisbury and Winchester Journal,' November 1st, 1859).

'p. 80, 'in his own church.' As doubts have been expressed whether Herbert was interred 'in his own church' at Bemerton

Fugglestone, the mother church, being suggested—it may be well to state that Aubrey, from personal knowledge, informs us he was buried in Bemerton, not Fugglestone. His statement is unmistakable, and must be preserved here: 'George Herbert was kinsman (cousin) and chaplain to Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and Lord Chamberlain. His lordship gave him a benefice at Bemerton (in the records of the Tower it is writ Bymerton), between Wilton and Salisbury, a pittiful little chappell of ease to Foughelston. The old house was very ruinous. Here he built a very handsome house, and made a good garden and walkes for the minister, of brick. He lyes in the chaneell, under no large nor yet very good marble grave-stone, without any inscription. . . . He was buried, according to his owne desire, with the singing service for the buriall of the dead by the singing men of Sarum. Dr. Sambroke (attorney) then assisted as a chorister boy; my uncle, Th. Danvers, was at the funerall' (Letters, ii, 80-1). Archdeacon Cox (who was one of Herbert's successors) observes: 'George Herbert is generally called Rector of Bemerton, because the glebe-house in which he resided is in that parish; but he should more properly be called Rector of Fugglestone, or Foulston St. Peter's cum Bemerton annexed, as the rectory comprises the parishes of Fugglestone, Quiddampton, and Bemerton.' We suspect 'Bemerton' (shortly, will not be displaced by the, if technically accurate, somewhat uncouth sounding fuller name, just as Herbert's friend Bacon is Lord Bacon, not Verulam or St. Alban, though there never was a Lord Bacon.

We greatly value our view of Bonetto's Church and the vignette of church and parsonage from Mexico. Vorländer's former 'Improvement's' fingers had swept these characteristics away. The garden and meadow were *correct*, and the river (Nadlan), shallow but broad and musically rippling, while a tradition, which one gladly accepts, points out an old, old meadow as planted by Herbert. See our Preface to the present volume for an examination of the hitherto alleged date of Herbert's death.

G.



A PRIEST TO THE TEMPLE,
AND PRAYERS;

BY GEORGE OLEY.

- (a) A 'VIEW OF THE LIFE AND VIRTUES OF THE AUTHOR, AND EXCELLENCIES OF THIS BOOK,' BY ARCHDEACON OLEY, *ibid.* A 'PREFACE TO THE CHRISTIAN READER' (*ibid.*); (c) ADVERTISEMENT (*ibid.*); NOTE AND RESTORATION.

(1652-1677.)



On page 121 is the title page of the original edition of *A Priest to the Temple*⁶ (1652), of which our text is a careful reproduction. On pages 122–123 are the title page and preface of 1908. To the Reader.⁷ Relative appendices and Notes and Illustrations at the close of this treatise give additions from after-editions, &c.

1. I have followed the basic version of the 'conventional' estimate of A.D. 200 for the Temple, but see also Isaac G. Stewart, M.A., of Great Marston, in the *Cambridge Roman Inscriptions* before (vol. xlv, pp. 121 et seqq.);

his "History of Literature," passes by the "Country Parson" too summarily. While allowing to it the faint praise of being "a pleasing little book," he objects that "its precepts are sometimes so overstrained, according to our notions, as to give an appearance of affectation." So much the worse, then, for us and "our notions." But a book on the life and habits of a country parson was not much in Hallam's way; nor was he likely, from the associations which environed him, to free himself from an unintentional prejudice against the theological school, in which, according to his "notions," Herbert would be classed. To the charge of being "overstrained," it is enough to answer that the precepts in question were laid down by the author as "rules and regulations" for his own guidance. "He set the form and character of a true pastor," he says, "as high as he could for himself to aim at;" and he practised what he taught. Many useful manuals for the clergy have been written lately, . . . but the "Country Parson" can never be superseded. Short as it is and unassuming, it is inexhaustible in its suggestiveness. Walton says, "He that can spare 12*d.* and yet wants a book so full of plain, prudent, and useful rules, is scarcely excusable." It will never be obsolete, &c.

G.



A PRIEST
IN
A TEMPLE,
OR
THE COUNTRY PARSON
IN
A CHURCH,
AND
A RULE OF HOLY LIFE.

THE AUTHOR,
M. G. H.

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THE AUTHOUR TO THE READER.

BEING desirous, thorow the mercy of God, to please Him, for Whom I am and live, and Who giveth mee my desires and performances; and considering with myself that the way to please Him is to feed my flocke diligently and faithfully, since our Saviour hath made that the argument of a pastour's love, I have resolved to set down the form and character of a true pastour, that I may have a mark to aim at: which also I will set as high as I can, since hee shoots higher that threatens the moon then hee that aims at a tree. Not that I think if a man do not all which is here expressed hee presently sins, and displeases God, but that it is a good strife to go as farr as we can in pleasing of Him, Who hath done so much for us. The Lord prosper the intencion to my selfe, and others who may not despise my poor labours, but add to those points which I have observed, untill the book grow to a compleat pastorall

GEO. HERBERT.



THE DUTY OF A PRIEST TO THE PEOPLE

CHAPTER I.

Of a Priest's

A PRIEST is, by the law of God, constituted a mediator between man to the obedience of God. This definition is evident, and contains the direct steps of pastoral duty and obedience. First, man fell from God's love and obedience. Secondly, Christ the Lord, in obedience to God for the redemption of man. Thirdly, Christ did not to continue on earth, but after Hee had fulfilled the work of reconciliation to be received up into heaven, He constituted deputies in His place; and these are priests. And therefore St. Paul, in the beginning of his Epistle to the Romans, says, *Forasmuch as we have communion with His blood, we have communion with His sacrifices.* And therefore St. Paul, in the beginning of his Epistle to the Hebrews, says, *Forasmuch as we have communion with His blood, we have communion with His sacrifices.* And therefore St. Paul, in the beginning of his Epistle to the Hebrews, says, *Forasmuch as we have communion with His blood, we have communion with His sacrifices.*

His authority and as His vicegerent : the duty, in that a priest is to do that which Christ did, and after His manner, both for doctrine and life.

CHAP. II.

Their Diversities.

OF pastors (intending mine own nation only, and also therein setting aside the reverend prelates of the Church, to whom this discourse ariseth not), some live in the universities, some in noble houses, some in parishes, residing on their cures. Of those that live in the universities, some live there in office, whose rule is that of the Apostle (Romans xii. 6) : ‘ Having gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophecy, according to the proportion of faith : or ministry, let us wait on our ministring : or he that teacheth, on teaching,’ &c. : ‘ he that ruleth, let him do it with diligence,’ &c. Some in a preparatory way, whose aim and labour must be not only to get knowledge, but to subdue and mortifie all lusts and affections : and not to think that when they have read the Fathers or Schoolmen, a minister is made and the thing done. The greatest and hardest preparation is within ; for ‘ Unto the ungodly saith God, Why dost thou preach My laws, and takest My covenant in thy mouth ?’ (Psalm l. 16.) Those that live in noble houses are called chaplains,

whose duty and obligation being the same to the houses they live in as a parson's to his parish, in describing the one (which is indeed the bent of my discourse) the other will be manifest. Let not chaplains think themselves exempted from the duties of a parson, because they live in a house, and are entertained by a family. Do this, and you will be as good as the parson they live in, and are entertained to that end, either by an open or implicit covenant. But if they are in orders, they may be received for companions or discourses; but after a man is once minister, he cannot agree to come into any house, where he shall not exercise what he is, unless he forsake his plough and look back [St. Luke ix. 62]. Wherefore they are not to be over-submissive and base, but to keep up with the lord and lady of the house, and to preserve a boldness with them, and all, even so far as reproof to their very face, when occasion calls, but seasonably and discreetly. They who do not thus, while they remember their earthly lord, do much forget their heavenly; they wrong the priesthood, neglect their duty, and shall be so farre from that which they seek with their over-submissiveness and cringings, that they shall ever be despised. They who for the hopes of promotion, neglect any necessary admonition or reproof, sell (with Judas) their Lord and Master.

CHAP. III.

The Parson's Life.

THE country parson is exceeding exact in his life, being holy, just, prudent, temperate, bold, grave, in all his wayes. And because the two highest points of life wherein a Christian is most seen are patience and mortification—patience in regard of afflictions; mortification in regard of lusts and affections, and the stupifying and deadning of all the clamorous powers of the soul—therefore he hath thoroughly studied these, that he may be an absolute master and commander of himself for all the purposes which God hath ordained him. Yet in these points he labours most in those things which are most apt to scandalize his parish. And first, because country people live hardly, and therefore as feeling their own sweat, and consequently knowing the price of money, are offended much with any who by hard usage increase their travell; the country parson is very circumspect in avoiding all covetousnesse, neither being greedy to get, nor niggardly to keep, nor troubled to lose any worldly wealth: but in all his words and actions slighting and disesteeming it, even to a wondring that the world should so much value wealth, which in the day of wrath hath not one dramme of comfort for us. Secondly, because luxury is a very visible sin, the parson is very careful to avoid all the kinds thereof: but especially that of drinking,

because it is the most popular vice : into which, if he come, he prostitutes himself both to shame and sin, and, by having ' fellowship with the unfruitfull works of darknesse' [Ephesians v. 11], he disableth himself of authority to reprove them : for sins make all equall whom they finde together, and then they are worst who ought to be best. Neither is it for the servant of Christ to haunt innes, or tavernes, or alldhouses, to the dishonour of his person and office. The parson doth not so, but orders his life in such a fashion, that when death takes him, as the Jewes and Judas did Christ, he may say as He did, ' I sate daily with you teaching in the Temple' [St. Matthew xxvi. 55]. Thirdly, because common people use to hold all honest men as needed to be taken care of, and to be the first to begin, and solemnise a good life in the world : therefore the parson is very careful in his private world, though he be not in a publick one, knowing that if he be not good himself, he will not be able to lead others to good : and that he will be a hindrance to them by his example, if he be not good himself. And the disorders thereof are also very manifest. The parson's yet is *good*, and not *orgy* ; and his apparell plaine, but reverend and cleane, without spots or dust, or any shew of the vanity of his mind breaking out and dilating : he is *good*, and not *orgy* ; and his *good* is

CHAP. IV.

The Parson's Knowledge.

THE countrey parson is full of all knowledg. They say it is an ill mason that refuseth any stone ; and there is no knowledg but, in a skilfull hand, serves either positively as it is, or else to illustrate some other knowledg. He condescends even to the knowledg of tillage and pastorage, and makes great use of them in teaching, because people, by what they understand, are best led to what they understand not. But the chief and top of his knowledg consists in the book of books, the storehouse and magazene of life and comfort, the Holy Scriptures. There he sucks and lives. In the Scriptures hee finds four things : precepts for life, doctrines for knowledg, examples for illustration, and promises for comfort. These he hath digested severally. But for the understanding of these, the means he useth are first, a holy life, remembering what his Master saith, that if any do God's will, he shall know of the doctrine (John vii. [17]) ; and assuring himself that wicked men, however learned, do not know the Scriptures, because they feel them not, and because they are not understood but with the same Spirit that writ them. The second means is prayer, which if it be necessary even in temporall things, how much more in things of another world, where the well is deep, and we have nothing but our selves to draw with ? Wherefore he

ever begins the reading of the Scripture with some short inward ejaculation, as, 'Lord, open mine eyes, that I may see the wondrous things of Thy law,' &c. [Ps. cxix. 18]. The third means is a diligent collation of Scripture with Scripture. For all truth being consonant to itself, and all being penned by one and the selfsame Spirit, it cannot be but that an industrious and judicious comparing of place with place must be a singular help for the right understanding of the Scriptures. To this may be added the consideration of any text with the coherence thereof, touching what goes before and what follows after, as also the scope of the Holy Ghost. When the Apostles would have called down fire from heaven, they were reproved, as ignorant of what spirit they were. For the Holy Spirit saith, *Ye men of Ephesus, ye respect not the day of the Lord, who know that the day will come, like a thief, in the night, when the heavens shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, and the earth and the works therein shall be burnt up.* Therefore, *ye men of Ephesus, be sober, and watch, and pray, that ye may be counted worthy to stand before the Lord with all peace and quietness of mind.* Therefore, *ye men of Ephesus, be sober, and watch, and pray, that ye may be counted worthy to stand before the Lord with all peace and quietness of mind.* He that doth not so handle the places controverted, which the party by no means refuseth. As he doth not so study otherwise to neglect the grace of God in himself, and what the Holy Spirit teacheth him, so doth he assure himself that he shall be able to give an answer. If he be able to give an answer, he shall be able to give an answer.

both of love and humility. Wherefore he hath one comment at least upon every book of Scripture; and ploughing with this and his own meditations, he enters into the secrets of God treasured in the Holy Scripture.

CHAP. V.

The Parson's necessary Knowledges.

THE countrey parson hath read the Fathers also, and the Schoolmen, and the later writers, or a good proportion of all, out of all which he hath compiled a book and body of divinity, which is the storehouse of his sermons, and which he preacheth all his life, but diversly clothed, illustrated, and enlarged. For though the world is full of such composures,^s yet every man's own is fittest, readiest, and most savory to him. Besides, this being to be done in his younger and preparatory times, it is an honest joy ever after to looke upon his well-spent hours. This body he made by way of expounding the Church Catechisme, to which all divinity may easily be reduced; for it being indifferent in itselfe to choose any method that is best to be chosen, of which there is likeliest to be most use. Now catechising being a work of singular and admirable benefit to the Church of God, and a thing required under canonically obedience, the expounding of our Catechisme must needs be the most usefull forme. Yet hath the parson, besides this laborious work, a slighter forme of

catechising, fitter for country people; according as his audience is, so he useth one or other, or sometimes both, if his audience be intermixed. He greatly esteemes also of cases of conscience," wherein he is much versed. And, indeed, herein is the greatest ability of a parson, to lead his people exactly in the wayes of truth, so that they neither decline to the right hand nor to the left. Neither let any think this a slight thing. For every one hath not digested when it is a sin to take something for money lent, or when not; when it is a fault to discover another's fault, or when not; when the affections of the soul in desiring and procuring increase of means or honour be a sin of covetousnes or ambition, and when not; when the appetites of the body in eating, drinking, sleep, and the pleasure that comes with sleep, be sins of gluttony, drunkenness, sloath, lust, and when not; and so in many circumstances of actions. Now if a shepherd know not which grass will bane, or which not, how is he fit to be a shepherd? Wherefore the parson hath thoroughly canvassed al the particulars of humane actions, at least all those which he observeth are most incident to his parish.

CHAR. VI.

The Parson's Preparation.

THE country parson, when he is to read divine services, composeth himselfe to all the following service

lifting up his heart and hands and eyes, and using all other gestures which may expresse a hearty and unfeigned devotion. This he doth, first, as being truly touched and amazed with the majesty of God, before Whom he then presents himself; yet not as himself alone, but as presenting with himself the whole congregation, whose sins he then beares and brings with his own to the heavenly altar to be bathed and washed in the sacred laver of Christ's blood. Secondly, as this is the true reason of his inward feare, so he is content to expresse this outwardly to the utmost of his power; that, being first affected himself, hee may affect also his people, knowing that no sermon moves them so much to a reverence, which they forget againe, when they come to pray, as a devout behaviour in the very act of praying. Accordingly his voyce is humble, his words treatable¹² and slow, yet not so slow neither as to let the fervency of the supplicant hang and dy between speaking; but with a grave livenessse, between fear and zeal, pausing yet pressing, he performes his duty. Besides his example, he having often instructed his people how to carry themselves in divine service, exacts of them all possible reverence, by no means enduring either talking, or sleeping, or gazing, or leaning, or litle kneeling, or any undutifull behaviour in them; but causing them, when they sit, or stand, or kneel, to do so in a constant and steady posture, as attending to what is done in the church, and every one, man and child,

answering aloud both Amen, and all other answers which are on the clerk's and people's part to answer; which answers should be delivered in a becoming or shubbering¹² fashion, gaping, or scratching the head, or puffing, even in the midst of their answer, but gently and pausably,¹³ thinking what they say; so that while they answer, 'As it was in the beginning,' &c., they meditate as they speak, that God hath ever had His people, that have glorified Him as well as now, and that He shall have so for ever; and the like in other answers. This is that which the Apostle calls a reasonable service (Romans. xii. 1.), when we speak not as patriots, without reason, or offer up such sacrifices as they did of old, which was of beasts devoid of reason; but when we use our reason and apply our powers to the service of Him that gives them. If there be any of the gentry or nobility of the parish who sometimes make it a piece of state not to come at the beginning of service with their poor neighbours, but at mid prayers, both to their own loss and of theirs also who gaze upon them when they come in, and neglect the present service of God, he by no means suffers it, but after divers gentle admonitions, if they persevere, he curses them to be presented;¹⁴ or if the poor churchwardens be affrighted with their greatness, notwithstanding his instruction that they ought not to be so, but even to let the world sink, so they do their duty, he presents them himself, only protesting to them that he can say

ill-will draws him to it, but the debt and obligation of his calling, being to obey God rather than men.

CHAP. VII.

The Parson preaching.

THE countrey parson preacheth constantly; the pulpit is his joy and his throne: if he at any time intermit, it is either for want of health, or against some great festivall, that he may the better celebrate it, or for the variety of the hearers, that he may be heard at his returne more attentively. When he intermits, he is ever very well supplied by some able man, who treads in his steps, and will not throw down what he hath built; whom also he intreats to press some point that he himself hath often urged with no great success, that so, ‘in the mouth of two or three witnesses’ [St. Matthew xvii. 16] the truth may be more established. When he preacheth, he procures attention by all possible art; both by earnestnesse of speech—it being naturall to men to think, that where is much earnestness, there is somewhat worth hearing—and by a diligent and busy cast of his eye on his auditors, with letting them know that he observes who marks, and who not; and with particularizing of his speech now to the younger sort, then to the elder, now to the poor, and now to the rich—‘This is for you, and this is for you?’ for particulars ever touch and awake more then

generalls. Herein also he serves himselfe of the judgments of God, as of those of ancient times, so especially of the late ones, and those most which are nearest to his parish; for people are very attentive at such discourses, and think it behoves them to be so when God is so neer them, and even over their heads. Sometimes he tells them stories and sayings of others, according as his text invites him; for them also men heed, and remember better then exhortations; which, though earnest, yet often dy with the sermon, especially with countrey people, which are thick, and heavy, and hard to raise to a poynt of zeal and fervency, and need a mountaine of fire to kindle them; but stories and sayings they will well remember. He often tells them that sermons are dangerous things; that none goes out of church as he came in, but either better or worse; that none is careless before his judg, and that the Word of God shal judge us. By these and other means the parson procures attention; but the character of his sermon is holiness; he is not witty, or learned, or eloquent, but holy:—a character that Hermogenes never dream'd of, and therefore he could give no precept thereof. But it is gained, first, by choosing texts of devotion, not controversy, moving and ravishing texts, wherein the Scripture doth tell. Secondly, by dipping and searching all our words and sentences in our hearts before they come into our mouths, truly affecting and cordially expressing all that we say; so

that the auditors may plainly perceive that every word is hart deep. Thirdly, by turning often and making many apostrophes to God,—as, ‘Oh Lord, blesse my people, and teach them this point ;’ or, ‘Oh my Master, on Whose errand I come, let me hold my peace, and do Thou speak Thyselfe ; for Thou art love, and when Thou teachest, all are scholars.’ Some such irradiations scatteringly in the sermon carry great holiness in them. The Prophets are admirable in this. So Isaiah lxiv. [1] : ‘Oh that Thou wouldst rend the heavens, that Thou wouldst come down,’ &c. And Jeremy (chap. x. [23]), after he had complained of the desolation of Israel, turnes to God suddenly, ‘Oh Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself,’ &c. Fourthly, by frequent wishes of the people’s good, and joying therein, though he himself were, with Saint Paul, even sacrificed upon the service of their faith. For there is no greater sign of holinesse then the procuring and rejoycing in another’s good. And herein St. Paul excelled in all his epistles. How did he put the Romans in all his prayers ! (Rom. i. 9.) And ceased not to give thanks for the Ephesians (Eph. i. 16) : and for the Corinthians (chap. i. 4). And for the Philippians made request with joy (chap. i. 4). And is in contention for them whether to live or dy, be with them or Christ (verse 23) : which, setting aside his care of his flock, were a madnesse to doubt of. What an admirable epistle is the second to the Corinthian ! how

full of affection: 'He loveth his flock, and he never and he gloryes; never was there such care of a flock expressed, save in the great Shepherd of the fold, Who first doth love you, doth himselfe for you give himselfe.' Therefore this care may be learn'd there, and then wove into sermons, which will make them appear exceeding reverend and holy. Lastly, by an urging of the presence and majesty of God, by these or such like speeches: 'Oh let us all take heed what we do!—God sees us; He sees whether I speak as I ought, or you hear as you ought; He sees hearts as we see faces; He is among us; for if we be here, Hee must be here, since we are here by Him, and without Him could not be here.' Then turning the discourse to His majesty, 'And He is a great God and terrible, as great in mercy, so great in judgement. There are but two devouring elements, fire and water; He hath both in Him; He is water with the living, and fire with the dead' (Revelation i. [15], &c.). 'He is the God of fire' (Hebrews xii. [29]). Such discourses shew very holy. The parson's method in handling of a text consists of two parts: first, a plain and evident declaration of the meaning of the text; and secondly, some choice observations drawn out of the whole text, as it lies entire and undivided in the Scripture, directly to the point, and then to the purpose of the sermon. When

the parson is thus employed, he is not only a good preacher, but a good man, and a good citizen.

object, and the like, hath neither in it sweetnesse, nor gravity, nor variety; since the words apart are not Scripture, but a dictionary, and may be considered alike in all the Scripture. The parson exceeds not an hour in preaching, because all ages have thought that a competency; and he that profits not in that time will lesse afterwards, the same affection which made him not profit before making him then weary; and so he grows from not relishing to loathing.

CHAP. VIII.

The Parson on Sundays.

THE country parson, as soon as he awakes on Sunday morning, presently falls to work, and seems to himselfe so as a market-man is when the market day comes, or a shopkeeper when customers [are] used to come in. His thoughts are full of making the best of the day, and contriving it to his best gaines. To this end, besides his ordinary prayers, he makes a peculiar one for a blessing on the exercises of the day; that nothing befall him unworthy of that Majesty before which he is to present himself, but that all may be done with reverence to His glory, and with edification to His flock; humbly beseeching his Master, that how or whenever He punish him, it be not in his ministry. Then he turnes to request for his people that the Lord would be pleased to sanctifie them all, that they may come

with holy hearts and awfull minds into the congregation, and that the good God would pardon all those who come with lesse prepared hearts then they ought. This done, he sets himself to the consideration of the duties of the day; and if there be any extraordinary addition to the customary exercises, either from the time of the year, or from the State, or from God, by a child born or dead, or any other accident, he contrives how and in what manner to induce it to the best advantage. Afterwards, when the hour calls, with his family attending him, he goes to church, at his first entrance humbly adoring and worshipping the invisible majesty and presence of Almighty God, and blessing the people, often and devoutly kneeling. Then saying read divine service twice, first, and preach in the morning, and conclude in the evening, he thanks be both in some measure, according to power and truth, mankind for the publick duties of the congregation. The rest of the day he spends either in reconciling neighbours that are at variance, or in visiting the sick, or in exhortations to some of his flock by themselves, whom his sermons cannot or doe not reach. And every one is more awaked, when we come and say, 'Thou art the man' [2 Samuel xii. 7]. This way he findes exceeding usefull and winning; and these exhortations becalms his privy purse, even as princes have done, and doe, who have beene contented to be the

of the day and without hindrance to publick duties, either to entertaine some of his neighbours or to be entertained of them; where he takes occasion to discourse of such things as are both profitable and pleasant, and to raise up their mindes to apprehend God's good blessing to our Church and State; that order is kept in the one, and peace in the other, without disturbance, or interruption of publick divine offices. As he opened the day with prayer, so he closeth it, humbly beseeching the Almighty to pardon and accept our poor services, and to improve them, that we may grow therein, and that our feet may be like hindes' feet, ever climbing up higher and higher unto Him.

CHAP. IX.

The Parson's State of Life.

THE country parson considering that virginity is a higher state then matrimony, and that the ministry requires the best and highest things, is rather unmarried than married. But yet as the temper of his body may be, or as the temper of his parish may be, where he may have occasion to converse with women, and that among suspicious men, and other like circumstances considered, he is rather married then unmarried. Let him communicate the thing often by prayer unto God, and as His grace shall direct him, so let him proceed. If he be unmarried, and keepe house, he hath not a

daily temperance, abstinence, watchings, and constant prayers and mortifications in the times of peace and prosperity. To put on the profound humility and the exact temperance of our Lord Jesus, with other exemplary vertues of that sort, and to keep them on in the sunshine and noone of prosperity, he findeth to be as necessary, and as difficult at least, as to be clothed with perfect patience and Christian fortitude in the cold midnight stormes of persecution and adversity. He keepeth his watch and ward night and day against the proper and peculiar temptations of his state of life, which are principally these two—spirituall pride, and impurity of heart: against these ghostly enemies he girdeth up his loynes, keepes the imagination from roving, puts on the whole armour of God, and by the vertue of the shield of faith he is not afraid of the pestilence that walketh in darknesse (carnall impurity), nor of the sicknesse that destroyeth at noone-day (ghostly pride and self-conceite). Other temptations he hath, which, like mortall enemies, may sometimes disquiet him likewise: for the humane soul, being bounded and kept in in her sensitive faculty, will runne out more or less in her intellectuall. Originall concupiscence is such an active thing, by reason of continuall inward or outward temptations, that it is ever attempting or doing one mischief or other; ambition, or untimely desire of promotion to an higher state or place, under colour of accommodation or necessary

provision, is a common temptation to men of any eminency, especially being single men; curiosity in prying into high speculative and unprofitable questions is another great stumbling-block to the holinesse of scholers. These and many other 'spiritual wickednesses in high places' [Ephes. vi. 12] doth the parson fear, or experiment,¹⁷ or both; and that much more being single then if he were married; for then commonly the stream of temptations is turned another way—into covetousnesse, love of pleasure or ease, or the like. If the parson be unmarried, and means to continue so, he doth at least as much as hath been said. If he be married, the choyce of his wife was made rather by his eare then by his eye; his judgement, not his affection, found out a fit wife for him, whose humble and liberall disposition he preferred before beauty, riches, or honour. He knew that (the good instrument of God to bring women to heaven) a wise and loving husband could, out of humility, produce any speciall grace of faith, patience, meeknesse, love, obedience, &c., and out of liberality make her fruitfull in all good works. As hee is just in all things, so is he to his wife also, counting nothing so much his owne as that he may be unjust unto it. Therefore he gives her respect both afore¹⁸ her servants and others, and halfe at least of the government of the house, reserving so much of the affaires as serve for a diversion for him; yet never so giving over the raines but that he sometimes looke

how things go, demanding an account, but not by the way of an account.¹⁹ And this must bee done the oftner or the seldomer, according as hee is satisfied of his wife's discretion.

CHAP. X.

The Parson in his House.

THE parson is very exact in the governing of his house, making it a copy and modell for his parish. He knows the temper and pulse of every person in his house, and accordingly either meets with their vices or advanceeth their vertues. His wife is either religious, or night and day he is winning her to it. Instead of the qualities of the world, he requires onely three of her: first, a trayning up of her children and mayds in the fear of God, with prayers, and catechizing, and all religious duties. Secondly, a curing and healing of all wounds and sores with her owne hands; which skill either she brought with her, or he takes care she shall learn it of some religious neighbour. Thirdly, a providing for her family in such sort as that neither they want a competent sustentation, nor her husband be brought in debt. His children he first makes Christians, and then Commonwealth's men; the one he owes to his heavenly countrey, the other to his earthly, having no title to either except he do good to both. Therefore, having seasoned them with all piety,

not only of words, in praying and reading, but in actions, in visiting other sick children and tending their wounds, and sending his charity by them to the poor, and sometimes giving them a little money to do it of themselves, that they get a delight in it, and enter favour with God, Who weighs even children's actions (1 Kings xiv. 12, 13). He afterwards turns his care to fit all their dispositions with some calling, not sparing the eldest, but giving him the prerogative of his father's profession, which happily²⁰ for his other children he is not able to do. Yet in binding them apprentices²¹ (in case he think fit to do so) he takes care not to put them into vain trades and unbecfitting the reverence of their father's calling, such as are tavernes for men, and lace making for women; because those trades, for the most part, serve but the vices and vanities of the world, which he is to deny and not augment. However, he resolves with himself never to omit any present good deed of charity, in consideration of providing a stock for his children; but assures himself that money thus lent to God is placed surer for his children's advantage than if it were given to the Chamber of London;²² Good deeds and good breeding are the best inheritance that can be desired. For any thing above those, and not spent in them, he offers to God, and lays it out as he sees cause. His servants are all religious; and were it not his duty to have them so, it were his profit, for many are so well

²⁰ *vid. sup.*

²¹ *ibid.*

²² *ibid.*

served as by religious servants, both because they do best, and because what they do is blessed and prospers. After religion, he teacheth them that three things make a compleate servant: truth, and diligence, and neatnesse or cleaulnesse. Those that can read are allowed times for it, and those that cannot are taught; for all in his house are either teachers or learners, or both: so that his family is a schoole of religion, and they all account that to teach the ignorant is the greatest almes. Even the wals are not idle, but something is written or painted there which may excite the reader to a thought of piety; especially the 101st Psalm, which is expressed in a fayre table, as being the rule of a family. And when they go abroad, his wife among her neighbours is the beginner of good discourses, his children among children, his servants among other servants: so that as in the house of those that are skill'd in musick all are musicians, so in the house of a preacher all are preachers. He suffers not a ly or equivocation by any means in his house, but counts it the art and secret of governing to preserve a directnesse and open plainness in all things: so that all his house knowes that there is no help for a fault done but confession. He himselfe, or his wife, takes account of sermons, and how every one profits, comparing this yeer with the last; and besides the common prayers of the family, he straitly requires of all to pray by themselves before they sleep at night and

stir out in the morning, and knows what prayers they say; and, till they have learned them, makes them kneel by him, esteeming that this private praying is a more voluntary act in them then when they are called to others' prayers, and that which when they leave the family they carry with them. He keeps his servants between love and fear, according as he findes them; but generally he distributeth it thus: to his children he shows more love then terrour, to his servants more terrour then love; but an old good servant boards a child.²⁴ The furniture of his house is very plain, but clean, whole, and sweet, as sweet as his garden can make; for he hath no money for such things, charity being his chief supply, and he is content to be content. He is not a glutton, but a good husband, and his house is never without a good dinner, and a good supper, consisting most of mutton, beefe, and veal. If he addes anything for a great day, or a stranger, his garden or orchard supplies it, or his barne and backside;²⁵ he goes no further for any entertainment, lest he goe into the world, esteeming it absurd that he should exceed who teacheth others temperance. But those which his home produceth he refuseth not, as coming cheap and easie.

Arising from the improvement of things which other men waste, he is able to do much good. When he is asked what he doth for the poor, he answers, I do nothing, but I have a house full of them, and I have a good dinner and a good supper for them, and I have a good bed for them, and I have a good wife and a good daughter, and I have a good son, and I have a good

is crumbs and scattered corn and the like : the other for the foulness, as wash and dirt, and things therein taken—God hath provided creatures for both : for the first poultry, for the second swine. These save man the labour, and doing that which either he could not do, or was not fit for him to do, by taking both sorts of food into them, do as it were dress and prepare both for man in themselves, by growing themselves fit for his table. The parson in his house observes fasting-dayes : and particularly as Sunday is his day of joy, so Friday his day of humiliation, which he celebrates not only with abstinence of diet, but also of company, recreation, and all outward contentments : and besides, with confession of sins and all acts of mortification. Now fasting-dayes contain a treble obligation : first, of eating lesse on that day then on other days ; secondly, of eating no pleasing or over-nourishing things, as the Israelites did eate sowe herbs ;¹⁰ thirdly, of eating no flesh, which is but the determination of the second rule by Authority to this particular. The two former obligations are much more essentiall to a true fast then the third and last : and fasting-dayes were fully performed by keeping of the two former, had not Authority interposed : so that to eat little, and that unpleasant, is the natural rule of fasting, although it be flesh. For since fasting in Scripture language is an 'gather[ing] of our souls' [Leviticus xvi. 29], if a peece of dry flesh at my table be more unpleasant to me then

and in the cold, coldness is not the fault, and yet the fish is to keep the fasting-day naturally. And it is observable that the prohibiting of flesh came from hot countries, where both flesh alone, and much more with wine, is apt to nourish more then in cold regions, and where flesh may be much better spared and with more safety then elsewhere, where, both the people and the drink being cold and flegmatick, the eating of flesh is an antidote to both. For it is certaine, that a weak stomach being prepossessed²⁷ with flesh, shall much better brooke and bear a draught of beer then if it had taken before either fish, or rootes,²⁸ or such things; which will discover itself by spitting, and rheume, or flegme. To conclude: the parson, if he be in full health, keeps the three obligations, eating fish or roots, and that for quantity little, for quality sufficient. If his body be weak and obstructed, as most of them are, he cannot keep the last obligation, nor suffer others in his house that are so to keep it; but only the two former, which also he dislikes, as being difficult, or as consuming more to be broken, than it will nourish, and so is a detriment. As the third obligation is not for emboldening the unruly, but for the comfort of the weak, that not only sicknesse breaks these obligations, but colds, and the like, and that I have already said, I am disposed to think, that I have more reason, by sicknesse to which I am inclined, as not to get out of that sicknesse, when I am in it, by any diet. One

thing is evident, that an English body and a student's body are two great obstructed vessels; and there is nothing that is food and not phisick which doth lesse obstruct then flesh moderately taken; as, being immoderately taken, it is exceeding obstructive. And obstructions are the cause of most diseases.³⁰

CHAP. XI.

The Parson's Courtesie.

THE countrey parson owing a debt of charity to the poor, and of courtesie to his other parishioners;³¹ he so distinguisheth that he keeps his money for the poor, and his table for those that are above alms. Not but that the poor are welcome also to his table, whom he sometimes purposely takes home with him, setting them close by him, and carving for them, both for his own humility and their comfort, who are much cheered with such friendlinesses. But since both is to be done, the better sort invited, and meaner relieved, he chooseth rather to give the poor money, which they can better employ to their own advantage, and suitably to their needs, then so much given in meat at dinner. Having, then, invited some of his parish, hee taketh his times to do the like to the rest; so that in the compasse of the year hee hath them all with him, because countrey people are very observant of such things, and will not be perswaded, but being not invited, they are hated.

Which perswasion the parson by all means avoyds, knowing that where there are such conceits, there is no room for his doctrine to enter. Yet doth hee oftenest invite those whom hee sees take best courses, that so both they may be encouraged to persevere, and others spurred to do well, that they may enjoy the like courtesie. For though he desire that all should live well and vertuously, not for any reward of his, but for vertue's sake, yet that will not be so; and therefore, as God, although we should love Him onely for His own sake, yet out of His infinite pity hath set teath heaven for a reward to draw men to piety, and is content it should be so, so will hee, as hee can, so the country parson will, as hee can, reward the kind. God was never so ready to reward the good, as hee is, and hee can't thinke hee is a parricide, for hee is not a murderer, but a benefactor, yet hee will not be thought so.

CHAP. XII.

The Parson's Charity.

THE country parson is full of charity: it is his predominant element. For many and wonderfull things are spoken of thee, thou great vertue. To charity is given the covering of sins (1 Pet. iv. 8); and the first commandment (Matthew vi. 14, Luke vii. 17); the fulfiling of the law (Romane xiii. 10); the life of faith (Galatians iii. 12); the way to heaven (1 Pet. iii. 10).

9, Psalm xli. 2) ; and the reward of the next (Matthew xxv. 35). In brief, it is the body of religion (John xiii. 35) ; and the top of Christian vertues (1 Corinthians xiii. [13]). Wherefore all his works relish of charity. When he riseth in the morning, he bethinketh himselfe what good deeds he can do that day, and presently doth them ; counting that day lost wherein he hath not exercised his charity. He first considers his own parish, and takes care that there be not a begger or idle person in his parish, but that all bee in a competent way of getting their living. This he effects either by bounty, or perswasion, or by authority, making use of that excellent statute which bindes all parishes to maintaine their own. If his parish be rich, he exacts this of them ; if poor, and he able, he easeth them therein. But he gives no set pension to any, for this in time will lose the name and effect of charity with the poor people, though not with God, for then they will reckon upon it as on a debt ; and if it be taken away, though justly, they will murmur and repine as much as he that is disseized of his own inheritance. But the parson having a double aime, and making a hook of his charity, causeth them still to depend on him ; and so by continuall and fresh bounties, unexpected to them, but resolved to himself, hee wins them to praise God more, to live more religiously, and to take more paines in their vocation, as not knowing what they shd be relieved ; which otherwise they

would be like a poor child that is sick, but for this generall provision, he hath other times of opening his hand, as at great festivals and communions, not suffering any that day that hee receives, to want a good meal suting to the joy of the occasion. But specially at hard times and dearths he even parts his living and life among them, giving some corn outright, and selling other at under-rates: and when his own stock serves not, working those that are able to the same charity, still pressing it in the pulpit and out of the pulpit, and never leaving them till he obtain his desire. Yet in all his charity he distinguisheth, giving them most who live best, and take most paines, and are most charged; so is his charity in effect a sermon. After the consideration of his own parish, he enlargeth himself, if he be able, to the neighbourhood: for that also is some kind of obligation: so doth he also to those at his door, whom God puts in his way, and makes his neighbours. But these he helps not without some testimony, except the evidence of the misery bring testimony with it. For though these testimonies may be falsified, yet considering that the law allows these in case they be true, but allows by no means to give without testimony, as he obeys Authority in this, he obeys Justice in that. And thus hee is a good neighbour, and a good Christian, and a good subject, and a good man.

small priviledge, and exemption from all law. When ever he gives any thing, and sees them labour in thanking of him, he exacts of them to let him alone, and say rather, ' God be praised, God be glorified ;' that so the thanks may go the right way, and thither onely where they are only due. So doth hee also before giving make them say their prayers first, or the creed and ten commandments, and as he finds them perfect, rewards them the more. For other givings are lay and secular, but this is to give like a priest.

CHAP. XIII.

The Parson's Church.

THE countrey parson hath a speciall care of his church, that all things there be decent, and befitting His name by which it is called. Therefore, first, he takes order that all things be in good repair, as walls plaistered, windows glazed, floore paved, seats whole, firm, and uniform : especially that the pulpit, and desk, and communion table, and font be as they ought, for those great duties that are performed in them. Secondly, that the church be swept and kept clean, without dust or cobwebs, and at great festivals strawed and stuck with boughs, and perfumed with incense.²³ Thirdly, that there be fit and proper texts of Scripture everywhere painted, and that all the painting be grave and reverend, not with light colours or foolish antieks.²⁴

CHAP. XIV.

The Parson in Circuit.

THE country parson upon the afternoons in the week days takes occasion sometimes to visite in person now one quarter of his parish, now another. For there he shall find his flock most naturally as they are, wallowing in the midst of their affairs; whereas on Sunday it is easie for them to compose themselves to order, which they put on as their holyday cloathes, and come to church in frame, but commonly the next day put off both. When he comes to any house, first he blesseth it, and then as hee finds the persons of the house employed, so he formes his discourse. Those that he findes religiously employed, he both commendeth them much, and furthers them when he is gone in their employment; as, if hee findes them reading, hee furnisheth them with good books; if curing poor people, hee supplies them with receipts, and instructs them further in that skill, shewing them how acceptable such works are to God, and wishing them ever to do the cures with their own hands, and not to put them over to servants. Those that he findes busy in the works of their calling, he commendeth them also; for it is a good and just thing for every one to do their own busines' [1 Thessal. iv. 11]. But then he admonisheth them of two things: first, that they dive not too deep into worldly affairs, plunging themselves

not be in and come into sin, as they do, but that they so labour as neither to labour anxiously, nor distrustfully, nor profanely. Then they labour anxiously when they overdo it, to the loss of their quiet and health: then distrustfully, when they doubt God's providence, thinking that their own labour is the cause of their thriving, as if it were in their own hands to thrive or not to thrive. Then they labour profanely, when they set themselves to work like brute beasts, never raising their thoughts to God, nor sanctifying their labour with daily prayer: when on the Lord's-day they do unnecessary servile work, or in time of divine service on other holydays, except in the cases of extreme poverty, and in the seasons of seed-time and harvest.' Secondly, he adviseth them so to labour for wealth and maintenance as that they make not that the end of their labour, but that they may have wherewithall to serve God the better, and to do good deeds. After these discourses, if they be poor and needy whom he thus finds labouring, he gives them somewhat: and opens not only his mouth but his purse to them: so that they may have their daily bread, and may not be troubled for want of it. Those that the parson findes idle, or unemployed, he chides not at first, for that were neither civill nor profitable: but always in the chiding he departs from them: yet in this he distinguishes; for if he finde them idle, he chides them, and says,

plainly, for they are not sensible of finenesse : if they be of higher quality, they commonly are quick, and sensible, and very tender of reproof ; and therefore he lays his discourse so, that he comes to the point very leisurely, and oftentimes, as Nathan did, in the person of another, making them to reprove themselves. However, one way or other, he ever reproves them, that he may keep himself pure, and not be intangled in others' sinnes. Neither in this doth he forbear though there be company by : for as, when the offence is particular and against mee, I am to follow our Saviour's rule, and to take my brother aside and reprove him, so when the offence is publicke and against God, I am then to follow the Apostle's rule (1 Timothy v. 20), and to 'rebuke openly' that which is done openly. Besides these occasional discourses, the parson questions what order is kept in the house, as about prayers morning and evening, on their knees, reading of Scripture, catechizing, singing of psalms at their work and on holydays : who can read, who not : and sometimes he hears the children read himselfe, and blesseth, encouraging also the servants to learn to read, and offering to have them taught on holydayes by his servants. If the parson were ashamed of particularizing in these things, hee were not fit to be a parson : but he holds the rule, that nothing is little in God's service ; if it once have the honour of that name, it grows great instantly. Wherefore neither disdaineth he to enter into

the poorest cottage, though he even creep into it, and though it smell never so loathsomely. For both God is there also, and those for whom God dyed : and so much the rather doth he so, as his access to the poor is more comfortable then to the rich : and in regard of himselfe, it is more humiliation. These are the parson's general aims in his circuit : but with these he mingles other discourses for conversation sake, and to make his higher purposes slip the more easily.

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son of the moment of griefs here with the weight of joyes hereafter. Besides this, 'in his visiting the sick or otherwise afflicted he followeth the Church's counsell, namely, in perswading them to particular confession, labouring to make them understand the great good use of this ancient and pious ordinance, and how necessary it is in some cases; he also urgeth them to do some pious charitable works, as a necessary evidence and fruit of their faith, at that time especially; the participation of the holy sacrament, how comfortable and sovereign a medicine it is to all sin-sick souls, what strength and joy and peace it administers against all temptations, even to death itself, he plainly and generally intimateth to the disaffected³⁸ or sick person, that so the hunger and thirst after it may come rather from themselves than from his perswasion.

CHAP. XVI.

The Parson a Father.

THE country parson is not only a father³⁹ to his flock, but also professeth himselfe throughly of the opinion, carrying it about with him as fully as if he had begot his whole parish. And of this he makes great use. For by this means, when any sinns, he hateth him not as an officer, but pities him as a father; and even in those wrongs which, either in tithing or otherwise, are done to his owne person, he considers

the offender as a child, and forgives, so hee may have any signe of amendment : so also when, after many admonitions, any continue to be refractory, yet hee gives him not over, but is long before hee proceede to dispharizing, or perhaps never goes so far : knowing that some are called at the eleventh houre, and therefore hee still expects and waits, lest he should determineth God's houre of coming : which as hee cannot, touching the last day, so neither touching the intermediate days of conversion.

CHAR. XVII.

The Parson in Jersey.

THE cuntry parson, when a just occasion calleth him out of his parish (which he diligently and strictly watcheth, his parish being all his joy and thought), leaveth not his ministry behind him : but is himselfe wherever he is. Therefore those he meets on the way he blesseth audibly, and with those he overtakes or comes up to, hee greets him, and thus hee converseth with many a heart, intermeddled with his own, and thus hee is minister, which minister hee is, hee is not only in his parish, but in his heart. A country parson is not a man that will be content to be a minister in his parish, but hee will be content to be a minister in his heart. Hee will be content to be a minister in his heart, and hee will be content to be a minister in his heart, and hee will be content to be a minister in his heart.

best notice that he will have prayers in the hall, wishing him to informe his guests thereof, that if any be willing to partake, they may resort thither. The like he doth in the morning, using pleasantly the outlandish proverb, that 'prayers and provender never hinder journey.' When he comes to any other house, where his kindred or other relations give him any authority over the family, if hee be to stay for a time, hee considers diligently the state thereof to Godward, and that in two points: first, what disorders there are either in apparell, or diet, or too open a buttery, or reading vain books, or swearing, or breeding up children to no calling, but in idleness or the like; secondly, what means of piety, whether daily prayers be used, grace, reading of Scriptures and other good books, how Sundayes, holydays, and fasting-days are kept. And accordingly, as he finds any defect in these, he first considers with himselfe what kind of remedy fits the temper of the house best, and then hee faithfully and boldly applyeth it, yet seasonably and discreetly, by taking aside the lord or lady, or master and mistress of the house, and shewing them clearly that they respect them most who wish them best, and that not a desire to meddle with others' affairs, but the earnestnesse to do all the good he can, moves him to say thus and thus.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Parson in Scotland.

THE countrey parson, wherever he is, keeps God's watch: that is, there is nothing spoken or done in the company where he is, but comes under his test and censure.⁴¹ If it be well spoken or done, he takes occasion to commend and enlarge it; if ill, he presently lays hold of it, lest the poison steal into some young and unwary spirits, and possesse them even before they themselves heed it. But this he doth discretely, with mollifying and suppling⁴² words: 'This was not so well said as it might have been said, and.' 'We cannot allow this; or else, if the thing will admit interpretation, 'Ye are meaning it not thus, but thus, and so.' 'So I could not but what you say is just, and well said; but this was not stand.' This is called 'keeping God's watch,' when the baits which the enemy lays in company are discovered and avoyded: this is to be on God's side, and be true to His party. Besides, if he perceive in company any discourses tending to ill, the countrey parson is to put them down, and to say, 'I have heard of such and such a discourse, but I have never heard of such and such a discourse.' When the parson thus keeps God's watch, and does not use, men being willing to sell the interest and management of their discourses for no price sooner than a word of commendation from him, he keeps God's

resolute, gladly betakes itself, even to the losse of honour.

CHAP. XIX.

The Parson in Reference.

THE country parson is sincere and upright in all his relations. And first he is just to his country; as when he is set at an armour⁴⁴ or horse, he borrowes them not to serve the turne, nor provides slight and unusefull, but such as are every way fitting to do his country true and laudable service, when occasion requires. To do otherwise is deceit; and therefore not for him, who is hearty, and true in all his wayes, as being the servant of Him :in Whom there was no guile [1 Peter ii. 22]. Likewise in any other country duty he considers what is the end of any command, and then he suits things faithfully according to that end. Secondly, he carries himself very respectfully⁴⁵ as to all the fathers of the Church, so especially to his diocesan, honouring him both in word and behaviour, and resorting unto him in any difficulty, either in his studies or in his parish. He observes visitations, and being there, makes due use of them, as of clergy counsels for the benefit of the diocese. And therefore, before he comes having observed some defects in the ministry, he then, either in sermon if he preach, or at some other time of the day, propounds among his brethern what were fitting to be done. Thirdly, he keeps good cor-

owne lesse charged, hee finds some way of relieving it, and reducing the manna and bread of charity to some equality: representing to his people that the blessing of God to them ought to make them the more charitable, and not the lesse lest He cast their neighbours' poverty on them also.

CHAP. XX.

The Parson in God's Stead.

THE countrey parson is in God's stead to his parish, and dischargeth God what he can of His promises. Wherefore there is nothing done either wel or ill whereof he is not the rewarder or punisher. If he chance to finde any reading in another's Bible, he provides him one of his own. If he finde another giving a poor man a penny, he gives him a tester¹⁶ for it, if the giver be fit to receive it; or if he be of a condition above such gifts, he sends him a good book, or caseth him in his tithes, telling him when he hath forgotten it, 'This I do, because at such and such a time you were charitable.' This is in some sort a discharging of God as concerning this life, Who hath promised that godliness shall be gainfull; but in the other, God is His own immediate paymaster, rewarding all good deeds to their full proportion. 'The parson's punishing of sin and vice is rather by withdrawing his bounty and countenance from the parties offending, or by private or

publick reproof, as the case requires, then by causing them to be presented or otherwise complained of. And yet, as the malice of the person or heinousness of the crime may be, he is carefull to see condign punishment inflicted, and with truly godly zeal, without hatred to the person, hungereth and thirsteth after righteous punishment of unrighteousnesse. Thus both in rewarding vertue and in punishing vice, the pious endeavoureth to be in God's stead, knowing that country people are drawn or led by sense more then by faith, by present rewards or punishments more then by future.'

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himself, for the advancing of his own mortification ; for in preaching to others he forgets not himself, but is first a sermon to himself, and then to others, growing with the growth of his parish. He useth and pre-
sents the ordinary Church Catechism, partly for obedience to authority, partly for uniformity sake, that the same common truths may be every where professed, especially since many remove from parish to parish, who, like Christian souldiers, are to give the word and to satisfy the congregation by their Catholick answers. He exacts of all the doctrine of the Catechisme : of the younger sort, the very words ; of the elder, the substance.⁴⁶ Those he catechizeth publicly, these privately, giving age honou, according to the Apostle's rule (1 Tim. v. 1). He requires all to be present at catechizing : first, for the authority of the work ; secondly, that parents and masters, as they hear the answers, prove, may, when they come home, either commend or reprove, either reward or punish ; thirdly, that those of the elder sort, who are not well grounded, may then by an honourable way take occasion to be better instructed ; fourthly, that those who are well grown in the knowledge of religion may examine their grounds, renew their vovves, and by occasion of both enlarge their meditations. When once all have learned the words of the Catechisme, he thinks it the most useful way that a pastor can take to go over the same, but in other words : for many say the Catechisme by

this kind may be observed and imitated. Yet the skill consists but in these three points: First, an aim and mark of the whole discourse whither to drive the answerer, which the questionist must have in his mind before any question be propounded, upon which and to which the questions are to be chained. Secondly, a most plain and easie framing the question, even containing in vertue^o the answer also, especially to the more ignorant. Thirdly, when the answerer sticks, in illustrating the thing by something else which he knows, making what he knows to serve him in that which he knows not: as when the parson once demanded, after other questions about man's misery, 'Since man is so miserable, what is to be done?' and the answerer could not tell, he asked him again what he would do if he were in a ditch. This familiar illustration made the answer so plaine, that he was even ashamed of his ignorance: for he could not but say he would haste out of it as fast as he could. Then he proceeded to ask whether he could get out of the ditch alone, or whether he needed a helper, and who was that helper. This is the skill, and doubtlesse the Holy Scripture intends thus much when it condescends to the naming of a plough, a hatchet, a bushell, heaven, boyes piping and dancing: shewing that things of ordinary use are not only to serve in the way of drabgery, but to be washed and cleansed, and serve to illustrate heavenly truths. This is the

practice, which the parson so much commends to all his fellow-labourers; the secret of whose good consists in this, that at home and abroad, men may sleep soundly, and when they awake, they may be most content with him. For questions need never be made, nor longer, but they have a certain influence, the one informing, the other inflaming, as sermons come short of questions in the one, so they far exceed them in the other. For questions cannot inflame or ravish; that must be done by a set, and laboured, and continued speech.

XXII.

The Parson's Sacraments.

THE country parson being to administer the sacraments is at a stand with himself how or what become to assume for so holy things. Especially at communion times he is in a great confusion, his being so far from the city, and the necessity of his being there. Not that he is ignorant of the nature of the sacraments, or what he is to do, but that he is ignorant of what he is to say. For he knows not what to say, nor how to say it, nor how to say it so as to be understood. He knows not how to say it so as to be heard, nor how to say it so as to be felt. He knows not how to say it so as to be loved, nor how to say it so as to be feared. He knows not how to say it so as to be worshipped, nor how to say it so as to be glorified. He knows not how to say it so as to be blessed, nor how to say it so as to be praised. He knows not how to say it so as to be thanked, nor how to say it so as to be glorified.

idle names;⁵³ but such as are usuall and accustomed;⁵³ He says that prayer with great devotion 'where God is thanked for 'calling us to the knowledg of His grace,' Baptisme being a blessing that the world hath not the like. He willingly and cheerfully crosseth the child, and thinketh the ceremony not only innocent, but reverend. He instructeth the godfathers and godmothers that it is no complementall or light thing to sustain that place, but a great honour, and no less burden, as being done both in the presence of God and His Saints, and by way of undertaking for a Christian soul. He adviseth all to call to mind their baptism often: for if wise men have thought it the best way of preserving a State to reduce it to its principles by which it grew great, certainly it is the safest course for Christians also to meditate on their baptism often (being the first step into their great and glorious calling), and upon what termes and with what vows they were baptized. At the times of the Holy Communion he first takes order with the church wardens, that the elements be of the best, not cheape or course,⁵⁴ much less ill tasted or unwholsome. Secondly, he considers and looks into the ignorance or carelessness of his flock, and accordingly applies himself with catechizings and lively exhortations, not on the Sunday of the communion only (for then it is too late), but the Sunday or Sundayes before the communion, or on the eves of celebration. It there be any who, having not re-

ceived yet, is to enter into this great work, he takes the more pains with them, that hee may lay the foundation of future blessings. The time of every one's first receiving is not so much by years as by understanding; and I think that it may be this, when any one can distinguish the sacramentall from common bread, knowing the institution and the difference, hee ought to receive, of what age soever. Children and youths are usually deferred too long, under pretence of devotion to the sacrament; but it is for want of instruction; their understandings being ripe enough for ill things, and why not then for better? But parents and masters should make hast in this, as to a great purchase for their children and servants; which, while they defer, both ill's suffer, the one, in wanting many excellent graces, the other, in being worse served and loved. The saying of the Catechism is too substantial and enough, because it answers in firm reason, but experience; but the question must be proposed for both good will'doers, and then the answer will be what hee is. Thirdly, the children must be examined the parents must all receive themselves, but the parents must have the answer. The priest is not to say, *It is your duty to receive*, but *it is your duty to ask for it*. He that comes to the sacrament, is to be examined, as to his understanding, his will, and his devotion, as to his knowledge, and as to his preparation, and as to his manner of receiving, and as to his manner of disposing.

lies puts up to an Apostle;⁵⁵ contentiousnesse in a priest of charity is more scandall then any posture. Fourthly, touching the frequency of the Communion, the parson celebrates it, if not duly once a month, yet at least five or six times in the year: as at Easter, Christmasse, Whitsuntide, afore⁵⁶ and after harvest, and the beginning of Lent. And this hee doth not onely for the benefit of the work, but also for the discharge of the church-wardens, who, being to present⁵⁷ all that receive not thrice a year, if there be but three communions, neither can all the people so order their affairs as to receive just at those times, nor the church-wardens so well take notice who receive thrice, and who not.

C. XXIII

The Parson's Completeness.

The country parson desires to be all to his parish, and not only a pastour, but a lawyer also and a physician. Therefore hee endures not that any of his flock should go to law: but in any controversie that they should resort to him as their judge.⁵⁸ To this end he hath gotten to himself some insight in things ordinarily incident and controverted, by experience and by reading some libitary treatises in the law, with Dalton's 'Jurisdiction of Parson,' and the 'Abridgements of the Statutes,' and hee confers with men of that profession whom hee hath ever in his eye, to ask when he meets with

wife, of whom, instead of the qualities of the world, he asks no other but to have the skill of healing a wound or helping the sick. But if neither himselfe nor his wife have the skil, and his means serve, he keeps some young practitioner in his house for the benefit of his parish, whom yet he ever exhorts not to exceed his bounds, but in tickle⁶¹ cases to call in help. If all fail, then he keeps good correspondence with some neighbour phisician, and entertaines him for the cure of his parish. Yet it is easie for any scholar to attaine to such a measure of physick as may be of much use to him both for himself and others. This is done by seeing one anatomy,⁶² reading one book of phisick, having one herball by him. And let Fernelius be the phisick author, for he writes briefly, neatly, and judiciously: especially let his method of phisick be diligently perused, as being the practicall part, and of most use. Now both the reading of him and the knowing of herbs may be done at such times as they may be an help and a recreation to more divine studies, Nature serving grace both in comfort of diversion and the benefit of application when need requires, as also by way of illustration, even as our Saviour made plants and seeds to teach the people; for He was the true householder who bringeth out of his treasure things new and old—the old things of philosophy and the new of nature—and maketh the one serve the other. And I conceive our Saviour did this for three reason

first, that by familiar things Hee might make His doctrine slip the more easily into the hearts even of the meanest; secondly, that labouring people (whom He chiefly considered) might have every where monuments of His doctrine, remembering in gardens His mustard-seed and lillies, in the field His seed-corn and tares, and so not be drowned altogether in the works of their vocation, but sometimes lift up their minds to better things, even in the midst of their pains; thirdly, that He might set a copy for parsons. In the knowledge of simples, wherein the manifold wisdom of God is wonderfully to be seen, one thing would be carefully observed; which is, to know what herbs may be used for the cure of the diseases of the body, and what for the cure of the mind. For the cure of the body, the parson's prescription should be for all men's bodies. So where the poppy is good either for loosing, rubarb, or for binding, the parson useth damask or white roses for the one, and plaintaine, shepherd's purse, knot-grass, for the other, and that with better success. As for curing the mind, the parson should be acquainted with the nature of the diseases of the mind, and the nature of the herbs that may be used for the cure of the same. As for the cure of the mind, the parson should be acquainted with the nature of the diseases of the mind, and the nature of the herbs that may be used for the cure of the same.

surely hyssope, valerian, mercury, adder's tongue, yarrow, melilot, and Saint John's-wort made into a salve, and elder, camomill, mallowes, comphrey, and smallage made into a poultis, have done great and rare cures.⁽¹⁾ In curing of any, the parson and his family use to premise prayers; for this is to cure like a parson, and this raiseth the action from the shop to the church. But though the parson sets forward all charitable deeds, yet he looks not in this point of curing beyond his own parish, except the person bee so poor that he is not able to reward the physician; for as hee is charitable, so he is just also. Now it is a justice and debt to the commonwealth he lives in not to ineroach on others' professions, but to live on his own. And justice is the ground of charity.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Parson's Arguement.

THE countrey parson, if there be any of his parish that hold strange doetrins, useth all possible diligence to reduce them to the common faith. The first means he useth is prayer, beseeching the Father of lights to open their eyes, and to give him power so to fit his discourse to them that it may effectually pierce their hearts and convert them. The second means is a very loving and sweet usage of them, both in going to and sending for them often, and in finding out courtesies to place on them, as in their titles, or otherwise. The

CHAP. XXV.

The Parson Punishing.

WHENSOEVER the countrey parson proceeds so farre as to call in authority, and to do such things of legall opposition either in the presenting or punishing of any as the vulgar every consters⁶⁶ for signes of ill will, he forbears not in any wise to use the delinquent as before in his behaviour and carriage towards him, not avoiding his company, or doing any thing of aversenesse, save in the very act of punishment; neither doth he esteem him for an enemy, but as a brother still, except some small and temporary estranging may corroborate the punishment to a better subduing and humbling of the delinquent; which if it happily take effect, he then comes on the faster, and makes so much the more of him as before he alienated himselfe, doubling his regards, and shewing by all means that the delinquent's return is to his advantage.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Parson's Eye.

THE countrey parson at spare times from action, standing on a hill, and considering his flock, discovers two sorts of vices and two sorts of vicious persons. There are some vices whose natures are always cleane and evident, as adultery, murder, hatred, lying, &c. There are other vices whose natures, at least in the

stealing and beginnings uncertain. Particularly concerning these two vices, not because they are all that are of this dark and creeping disposition, but for example sake, and because they are most common, he thus thinks: first, for covetousnes he lays this ground—whosoever, when a just occasion calls, either spends not at all, or not in some proportion to God's blessing upon him, is covetous. The reason of the ground is manifest, because wealth is given to that end, to supply our occasions. Now, if I do not give every thing its end, I abuse the creature. I am false to my reason which should guide me. I offend the supreme Judg, in perverting that order which He hath set both to things and to reason. The application of the ground would be infinite; but in brief, a poor man is an occasion, my countrey is an occasion, my friend is an occasion, my table is an occasion, my apparell is an occasion: if in all these, and those more which concerne me, I either do nothing, or pinch and scrape and squeeze blood indecently to the station wherein God hath placed me, I am covetous. More particularly, and to give one instance for all, if God have given me servants, and I either provide too little for them, or that which is unwholsome, being sometimes baned⁷¹ meat, sometimes too salt, and so not competent nourishment, I am covetous. I bring this example, because men usually think that servants for their mony are as other things that they buy, even as a piece of wood, which

health, nor of their affairs (which being over-burdened, or studying dainties too much, they cannot wel dispatch), nor of their estate, nor of their brethren. One act in these things is bad, but it is the custom and habit that names a glutton. Many think they are at more liberty then they are, as if they were masters of their health, and so they will stand to the pain,⁷³ all is well. But to eat to one's hurt comprehends, besides the hurt, an act against reason, because it is unnaturall to hurt oneself; and this they are not masters of. Yet of hurtfull things, I am more bound to abstain from those which by my own experience I have found hurtfull, then from those which by a common tradition and vulgar knowledge are reputed to be so. That which is said of hurtfull meats extends to hurtfull drinks also. As for the quantity, touching our employments, none must eat so as to disable themselves from a fit discharging either of divine duties or duties of their calling. So that if after dinner they are not fit (or unweedly) either to pray or work, they are gluttons. Not that all must presently work after dinner (for they rather must not work, especially students and those that are weakly); but that they must rise so as that it is not meate or drink that hinders them from working. To guide them in this there are three rules: first, the custome and knowledge of their own body, and what it can well digest; the second, the feeling of themselves in time of eating,

which because it is decided (not one thinks in eating that he can eat more then afterwards he finds true); the third is the observation with what appetite they sit down. This last rule joyned with the first never fails; for knowing what one usually can digest, and feeling when I go to meat in what disposition I am, often I can command myself, or I shall be able to do so; I may now want less, or more, or none at all. Yet I am sure that those that would have more will not see any want; and that those that would have less will not feel any want. Ourselves, a particular man, will be able to make either to eat much, or not to eat much, but not to eat less, because I have so exhausted my nature, that I can never come to a plain. But the people, ordinary as the people are, will double, and often triple abstinence, and will yet be in an attention, and ease. When I stand with any that I have not cann'd to, I will sit these three rules, but when I come to eat, I will not follow the first rule, but I will follow the second, even so much as I can attend to it. Thus, knowing there is One Who, when they forget, remembers for them; as when the people hungered and thirsted, and said, What shall we do, because we have not meat, that they would have faint'd had they remained empty. He suffered it not; but rather made food plentifully, then suffered so good desires to miscarry.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Parson in Mirth.

THE countrey parson is generally sad,⁷⁶ because hee knows nothing but the Crosse of Christ, his minde being defixed⁷⁷ on and with those nailes wherewith his Master was ; or if he have any leisure to look off from thence, he meets continually with two most sad spectacles, sin and misery ; God dishonoured every day, and man afflicted. Neverthelesse, he somtimes refresheth himself, as knowing that nature will not bear everlasting droopings, and that pleasantnesse of disposition is a great key to do good ; not onely because all men shun the company of perpetuall severity,⁷⁸ but also for that when they are in company, instructions seasoned with pleasantnesse both enter sooner and roote deeper. Wherefore he condescends to humane frailties both in himselfe and others, and intermingles some mirth in his discourses occasionally, according to the pulse of the hearer.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Parson in Contempt.

THE countrey parson knows well, that both for the generall ignominy which is cast upon the profession, and much more for those rules which out of his clearest judgment hee hath resolved to observe, and

tion either unfit or bootlesse⁷⁹ to contend, then when any despises him, he takes it either in an humble way, saying nothing at all; or else in a slighting way, shewing that reproaches touch him no more then a stone thrown against heaven, where he is and lives; or in a sad way,⁸⁰ grieved at his own and others' sins, which continually breake God's laws, and dishonour Him with those mouths which He continually fills and feeds; or else in a doctrinal way, saying to the contemner, 'Alas, why do you thus? You hurt your-selfe, not me; he that throws a stone at another hits himselfe;' and so between gentle reasoning and pitying he overcomes the evil; or lastly, in a triumphant way, being glad and joyfull that hee is made conformable to his Master, and being in the world as He was, hath this undoubted pledge of his salvation. These are the five shields wherewith the godly receive the darts of the wicked, leaving anger and retorting⁸¹ and revenge to the children of the world, whom another's ill mastereth and leadeth captive without any resistance, even in resistance, to the same destruction. For while they resist the person that reviles, they resist not the evill which takes hold of them, and is farr the worst enemy.

canons, that so they may know their duty and keep their oath the better; in which regard, considering the great consequence of their place, and more of their oath, he wisheth them by no means to spare any, though never so great; but if after gentle and neighbourly admonitions they still persist in ill, to present⁸⁴ them, yea, though they be tenants, or otherwise engaged to the delinquent; for their obligation to God and their own soul is above any temporal tye. Do well and right, and let the world sink.⁸⁵

CHAP. XXX.

The Parson's Consideration of Providence.

THE countrey parson, considering the great aptnesse countrey people have to think that all things come by a kind of natural course, and that if they sow and soyle⁸⁶ their grounds they must have corn, if they keep and fodder well their cattel they must have milk and calves; labours to reduce them to see God's hand in all things, and to beleeve that things are not set in such an inevitable order, but that God often changeth it according as He sees fit, either for reward or punishment. To this end he represents to his flock that God hath and exerciseth a threefold power in every thing which concernes man. The first is a sustaining power, the second a governing power, the third a spirituell power. By His sustaining power He pre-

farmer should depend upon God all the yeer, and being ready to put hand to sickle shall then secure himself, and think all cock-sure,⁸⁶ then God sends such weather as lays the corn and destroys it; or if he depend on God further, even till he imbarn⁸⁷ his corn, and then think all sure, God sends a fire and consumes all that he hath; for that he ought not to break off, but to continue his dependance on God, not onely before the corn is inned, but after also, and indeed to depend and fear continually. The third power is spirituall, by which God turnes all outward blessings to inward advantages. So that if a farmer hath both a faire harvest, and that also well inned and imbarned and continuing safe there, yet if God give him not the grace to use and utter this well, all his advantages are to his losse. Better were his come burnt then not spiritually improved. And it is observable in this how God's goodnesse strives with man's refractorinesse: man would sit down at this world; God bids him sell it and purchase a better. Just as a father who hath in his hand an apple and a piece of gold under it; the child comes, and with pulling gets the apple out of his father's hand; his father bids him throw it away, and he will give him the gold for it; which the child utterly refusing, eats it, and is troubled with wormes. So is the carnall and wilfull man, with the worm of this ~~world~~ in this world and the worm of conscience in the next.

CHAP. XXXI.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE CHURCH.

THE contrary party, leaving their natural state, of Satan, who playes his part sometimes in leading God's servants from Him, sometimes in perplexing them in the service of God, stands fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free [Galatians v. 1]. This liberty he compasseth by one distinction, and that is of what is necessary and what is additionary. As for example: it is necessary that all Christians should pray twice a day, even before the week, and four times in Sunday, in the best way. This is so necessary and essential to a Christian, that he cannot without this maintain his liberty in a Christian state. Besides this, the godly have ever added some hours of prayer, as at nine, or at three, or at midnight, or as they think fit and see cause, or rather as God's Spirit leads them. But these prayers are not necessary, but additionary. Now it so happens, that the godly petitioners, upon some emergent business, or in the day of vexation, begin themselves to trouble themselves upon some business, upon this business they are perplexed and troubled; and Satan, who knows the occasion, blows the fire, endeavouring to disorder the Christian's thoughts, and his devotion, and to make him the prisoner, and to perplex, and trouble him, and to keep him in bondage, and to make him a slave to the world.

trouble as in ediness. Here the person interposeth with his distinction, and shews the perplexed Christian that this prayer being additionary, not necessary, taken in, not commanded, the omission thereof upon just occasion ought by no means to trouble him. God knows the occasion as well as he, and He is as a gracious Father, who more accepts a common course of devotion than dislikes an occasional interruption. And of this he is so to assure himself as to admit no scruple, but to go on as cheerfully as if he had not been interrupted. By this it is evident that the distinction is of singular use and comfort, especially to pious minds, which are ever tender and delicate. But here there are two cautions to be added: first, that this interruption proceed not out of slacknes or coldness, which will appear if the pious soul foresee and prevent such interruptions, what he may, before they come, and when for all that they do come he be a little affected therewith, but not afflicted or troubled, if he resent it to a dislike,^{ss} but not a griefe; secondly, that this interruption proceede not out of shame. As for example: a godly man, not out of superstition, but of reverence to God's house, resolves, whenever he enters into a church, to kneel down and pray, either blessing God that He will be pleased to dwell among men, or beseeching Him that whenever he repairs to His house he may behave himself so as becometh a worshipper, and thus briefly. But to temper this rule

sorts of gamings. 'Come,' say they, 'we have nothing to do; let's go to the tavern, or to the stews, or what not.' Wherefore the parson strongly opposeth this sin wheresoever he goes. And because idleness is twofold, the one in having no calling, the other in walking carelessly in our calling, he first represents to every body the necessity of a vocation. The reason of this assertion is taken from the nature of man, wherein God hath placed two great instruments, reason in the soul and a hand in the body, as engagements of working, so that even in Paradise man had a calling; and how much more out of Paradise, when the evils which he is now subject unto may be prevented or diverted by reasonable imployment! Besides, every gift or ability is a talent to be accounted for, and to be improved to our Master's advantage. Yet it is also a debt to our country to have a calling, and it concerns the commonwealth that none shall be idle, but all busied. Lastly, riches are the blessing of God, and the great instrument of doing admirable good, therefore all are to procure them honestly and seasonably when they are not better employed. Now this reason crosseth not our Saviour's precept of selling what we have, because when we have sold all and given it to the poor we must not be idle, but labour to get more that we may give more, according to St. Paul's rule (Ephesians iv. 28, 1 Thessalonians iv. 11, 12); so that our Saviour's selling is so far from cross-

ing Saint Paul's working that it rather establisheth it, than they that have nothing to do, are apt to work. Now because the ready opposer to this doctrine is the gallant, who is witty enough to abuse both others, and himself, and who is ready to ask if he shall stand or fall, what he shall do, that in this passage, the moved sheweth that ingenious and fit employment is never wanting to those that seek it. But if it should be, the assertion stands thus: all are either to have a calling or prepare for it; he that hath or can have yet no employment, if he truly and seriously prepare for it, he is safe and within bounds. Wherefore all are to be especially exhorted unto calling, if they be not yet called; and if they have not yet received their calling, when they are first to be called to prepare for it, with all diligence. But it will not be amiss, in this exhorting, usually to intimate to such persons, first, the excellency of this preparation. Moreover, when they are already called, to intimate how they should be called, and what it becometh them to do. For thus are the two principal difficulties removed, the one touching the calling, the other touching the preparation. For the calling is to be sought for, and the preparation is to be made, and both are to be made in the heart, and in the mind, and in the will, and in the affections, and in the powers, and in the faculties, and in the senses, and in the whole man. And thus is the calling and the preparation, and both are to be made in the heart, and in the mind, and in the will, and in the affections, and in the powers, and in the faculties, and in the senses, and in the whole man. And thus is the calling and the preparation, and both are to be made in the heart, and in the mind, and in the will, and in the affections, and in the powers, and in the faculties, and in the senses, and in the whole man.

For the trades, for every one to imploy himself to the advancement of his affairs, that he may have wherewithall to do good. But his family is his best care, to labour Christian soules and raise them to their height, even to heaven: to dresse and prune them, and take as much joy in a straight-growing childe or servant as a garlender doth in a choice tree. Could men finde out this delight, they would seldome be from home: whereas now, of any place they are least there. But if, after all this care well dispatched, the house-keeper's family be so small and his dexterity so great that he have leisure to look out, the village or parish which either he lives in, or is near unto it is his imployment. He considers every one there, and either helps them in particular, or hath generall propositions to the whole towne or hamlet of advancing the publick stock, and managing commons or woods, according as the place suggests. But if hee may be of the commission of peace, there is nothing to that: no commonwealth in the world hath a braver institution then that of justices of the peace: for it is both a security to the king, who hath so many dispersed officers at his becke throughout the kingdome accountable for the publick good, and also an honourable imployment of a gentle or nobleman in the country he lives in, in adding him with power to do good, and to restrain all those who else might both trouble him and the whole state. Wherefore it behoves all who are come to the

law to practice. Sometimes he may go to court, as the eminent place both of good and ill. At other times he is to travell over the king's dominions, cutting out the kingdome into portions, which every yeer he surveys peece-meal. When there is a Parliament, he is to endeavour by all means to be a knight or burgess there; for there is no school to a Parliament. And when he is there, he must not only be a morning man,⁹⁴ but at committees also; for there the particulars are exactly discussed, which are brought from thence to the House but in generall. When none of these occasions call him abroad, every morning that hee is at home hee must either ride the great horse⁹⁵ or exercise some of his military gestures.⁹⁶ For all gentlemen that are not weakned and disarmed with sedentary lives are to know the use of their arms; and as the husbandman labours for them, so must they fight for and defend them when occasion calls. This is the duty of each to other, which they ought to fulfill; and the parson is a lover and exciter to justice in all things, even as John the baptist squared⁹⁷ out to every one, even to soldiers, what to do. As for younger brothers, those whom the parson finds loose and not engaged in some profession by their parents, whose neglect in this point is intolerable and a shamefull wrong both to the commonwealth and their own house — to them, after he hath shewed the unlawfulness of idleness, the day in dressing, complementing, &c. vi. if

muzard, partly, he teacheth naturally to study of the Civill Law, as a brave and wise knowledge; the professions whereof were much employed by Queen Elizabeth, because it is the key of civility, and the door of the rich and famous estate. Secondly, he commendeth the mathematicks, as the only wonder-working knowledge, and therefore requiring the best spirits. After the severall knowledge of these, he adviseth to insist and dwell chiefly on the two noble branches thereof of fortification and navigation; the one being usefull to all countreys, and the other especially to ilands. But if the young gallant think these courses dull and pleinesmatick, where can he busie himself better then in the new Philosophies, and Sciences, which are not only a noble, but a new, they give him a model of a new and new employment. On let him travel into Germany and France, and discover the artifices of the most famous, then, to employ themselves in the study of the true Philosophy, and the true Art of the true Art.

CHAPTER XXXIII

OF THE TEMPTATION

THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST BY THE DEVIL, is a very famous story, and a very famous sermon, and a very famous promise, that if the Kingdome of God be first sought, all other things shall be added. St. Matthew vi. 33], even itselfe is a sermon. For the temptation

with which a good man is beset, and the ways which he used to overcome them, being told to another, whether in private conference or in the church, are a sermon. Hee that hath considered how to carry himself at table about his appetite, if he tell this to another, preacheth; and much more feelingly and judiciously then he writes his rules of temperance out of bookes;¹⁰² so that the parson having studied and mastered all his lusts and affections within, and the whole army of temptations without, hath ever so many sermons ready penn'd as he hath victories. And it fares in this as it doth in physick; he that hath been sick of a consumption, and knows what recovered him, is a physitian, so far as he meetes with the same disease and temper, and can much better and particularly do it then he that is generally learned and was never sick. And if the same person had been sick of all diseases, and were recovered of all by things that he knew, there were no such physician as he, both for skill and tendernesse. Just so it is in divinity, and that not without manifest reason; for though the temptations may be diverse in divers Christians, yet the victory is alike in all, being by the self-same Spirit. Neither is this true onely in the military state¹⁰³ of a Christian life, but even in the peaceable also, when the servant of God, freed for a while from temptation, in a quiet sweetnesse seeks how to please his God. Thus the parson considering that repentance is the great vertue of the Gospel, and that it

The like he doth in other Christian vertues, as of faith and love and the cases of conscience belonging thereto, wherein, as Saint Paul implyes that he ought (Romans vi.) he first teacheth to himself, and then to others.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Parson's Dexterity in applying of Remedies.

THE country parson knows that there is a double state of a Christian even in this life, the one military, the other peaceable. The military is when we are assaulted with temptations, either from within or from without. The peaceable is when the divill for a time leaves us, as he did our Saviour, and the angels minister to us their owne food, even joy and peace and comfort in the Holy Ghost. These two states were in our Saviour not only in the beginning of His preaching, but afterwards also; as Matt. xxii. 35, He was tempted; and Luke x. 21, He rejoyced in spirit; and they must be likewise in all that are His. Now the parson having a spirituall judgement, according as he discovers any of his flock to be in one or the other state, so he applies himselfe to them. Those that he findes in the peaceable state he adviseth to be very vigilant, and not to let go the reins as soon as the horse goes easie. But chiefly he counselleth them to two things: first, to take heed lest their quiet betray them (as it hath done many a coldly religious and carelesse) in their devo-

to eat, but to be as still as to be content in Christian duties as they remember themselves were when affliction did blow the cooler; secondly, not to take the full compass and liberty of their peace; not to eat of all those dishes at table which even their present health otherwise admits, nor to store their house with all those furnitures which even their present plenty of wealth otherwise admits; nor when they are among them that are merry, to extend themselves to all that mirth which the present occasion of wit and company otherwise admits; but to put bounds and hoops¹⁰ to their pleasures, will they let the longer, and when they are at rest, the shorter. If we would put our selves as the Hebrews put off [Gen. xi. 34]; and if we would bound ourselves, we should not be troubled. But if they shall see that as such or such cups their peace and mirth have served them further than the moderation then to take shall be advisable, when a mother that has children should have them weaned in their mirth, let them see and find that as such or such cups will and there be bound and bound to new wine, which makes God be well pleased. He that is the person that in the nature may be contented with them would be contented. Now if we should be contented with what we usually call contentment, we should see that such a contentment is not contentment, but all is by contentment, and that the contentment is not contentment.

our of all things, yet to them He is lost, as if they said, 'God doth forsake and persecute them, and there is none to deliver them.' If the parson suspect the first, and find sparks of such thoughts now and then to break forth, then, without opposing directly (for disputation is no cure for atheisme), he scatters in his discourse three sorts of arguments, the first taken from nature, the second from the law, the third from grace. For nature, he sees not how a house could be either built without a builder, or kept in repaire without a housekeeper. He conceives not possibly how the windes should blow so much as they can, and the sea rage as much as it can, and all things do what they can, and all, not only without dissolution of the whole, but also of any part, by taking away so much as the usuall seasons of summer and winter, earing¹⁹⁶ and harvest. Let the weather be what it will, still we have bread, though sometimes more, sometimes lesse; wherewith also a carefull Joseph might meet.¹⁹⁷ He conceives not possibly how he that would believe a Divinity if he had been at the creation of all things should lesse beleve it seeing the preservation of all things: for preservation is a creation; and more, it is a continued creation, and a creation every moment. Secondly, for the law, there may be so evident though unused a proof of Divinity taken from thence, that the atheist or Epicurean can have nothing to contradict. The Jews, yet hee had not known, they have their

Saviour, for which He told that it should never be forgotten, but with the Gospel itself be preached to all ages (Matthew xxvi. 13); the other concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, of which our Saviour said, that that generation should not passe till all were fulfilled (Luke xxi. 32); which Josephus his story confirmeth, and the continuance of which verdict is yet evident. To these might be added the preaching of the Gospel in all nations (Matthew xxiv. 14), which we see even miraculously effected in these new discoveries, God turning men's covetousnesse and ambitions to the effecting of His word. Now a prophesie is a wonder sent to posterity, leest they complaine of want of wonders. It is a letter sealed and sent, which to the bearer is but paper, but to the receiver and opener is full of power. He that saw Christ open a blind man's eyes saw not more Divinity then he that reads the woman's oyntment in the Gospell or sees Jerusalem destroyed. With some of these heads enlarged and woven into his discourse at severall times and occasions, the parson setteth wavering minds. But it he sees them nearer desperation then atheisme, not so much doubting a God as that He is theirs,¹ then he dives into the boundlesse ocean of God's love, and the unspeakable riches of His loving kindness. He hath one argument unanswerable. If God hate them, either He doth it as they are creatures, dust and ashes, or they are sinfull. As creatures, He must needs love

Particularly, he loves procession¹⁶ and meetings in, because they open out in them the greatest advantages: first, a blessing of God for the profit of the field: secondly, justice in the preservation of bounds: thirdly, charity in loving walking and neighbourly accompanying one another, with reconciling of differences at that time, if there be any: fourthly, mercy in relieving the poor by a liberall distribution and largesse, which at that time is or ought to be used. Whither he expects at all to be present at the plantation, and those that withdraw and sever themselves from it he dislikes: and reproves as uncharitable and unneighbourly: and if they will not reforme, presents¹⁷ them. Nay, he is so farr from condemning such assemblies, that he rather procures them: he often, as knowing that absence breeds strangeness, but presence love. Now love is his business and care, wherefore he likes well that his parish at good times invite one another to their houses, and he urges them to it: and sometimes, where he knowes there hath been or is a little difference, hee takes one of the parties, and goes with him to the other, and all dine or sup together. There is much preaching in this friendliness. Another old custome there is of saying, when light is to be desired, 'God send us the light of heaven:' and the people likes this very well: neither is he affraid of praying or praying to God at all times, but is rather glad to find his opportunities to do them. Light is a great blessing

and as good as food, for which we give thanks; and those that think this superstitions neither know superstition nor themselves. As for those that are ashamed to use this form, as being old, and obsolete, and not the fashion, he reforms and teaches them that at baptism they professed not to be ashamed of Christ's cross, or for any shame to leave that which is good. He that is ashamed in small things will extend his pusillanimity to greater. Rather should a Christian soldier take such occasions to harden himself, and to triumph over himself.

CHAP. XXXVI

OF BLESSING.

THE country person wonders that blessing the people is in so little use with his brethren; whereas he thinks it not only a grave and reverend thing, but a beneficial also. Those who use it not do so either out of niceness, because they like the salutations and complements and forms of worldly language better; which conformity and fashionableness is so exceeding debasing a minister, that it deserves reproof, not reformation; or else, because they think it empty and unprofitable. But that which the Apostles used so abundantly, and which the Church of Christ has so long continued, is not to be despised. Since the Apostles used it, and the Church of Christ has continued it, it is not to be despised. But this was not proper to Christ or the

Ap. 13. c. x. to be more than to be a spirituall father
 vs. appointed to them. And if temporall fathers
 blesse their children, how much more may and ought
 spirituall fathers! Besides, the priests of the Old
 Testament were commanded to blesse the people, and
 the forme thereof is prescribed (Numbers vi. [22-27]).
 Now as the Apostle argues in another case, if the
 ministration of condemnation did bless, 'how shall
 not the ministration of the Spirit exceed in blessing?'
 [2 Cor. iii. 8.] The fruit of this blessing good Hannah
 found and received with great joy (1 Samuel i. 18),
 though it came from a man disallowed by God: for it
 was not the person, but priesthood, that blessed: so
 that even ill priests may bless.¹¹⁴ Neither have the
 ministers power of blessing only, but also of cursing.
 So in the Old Testament, Elisha cursed the children
 (2 Kings ii. 24), which, though our Saviour reproved as
 wanting to His particular, Who was to show all
 hostility before His passion, yet He allows it in His
 Apostles. And therefore St. Peter used that fearful
 imprecation to Simon Magus (Acts viii. 20-21), 'Thy
 mony perish with thee;' and the event confirmed it.
 So did St. Paul (2 Timothy iv. 14 and 1 Timothy i. 20).
 Speaking of Alexander the coppersmith, who had
 withstood his preaching, 'The Lord,' saith he, 're-
 warded him according to his works' [2 Timothy iv. 14].
 And again, of Hymeneus and Alexander he saith he had
 'delivered them to Satan, that they might learn, not

ble, *quod in conspectu* as appears Romans xii. 14, how much more those who are spiritual fathers?

CHAP. XXXVII.

Concerning Detractions.

THE country parson perceiving that most, when they are at leisure, make others' faults their entertainment and discourse, and that even some good men think, so they speak truth, they may disclose another's fault, finds it somewhat difficult how to proceed in this point. For if he absolutely shut up men's mouths, and forbid the disclosing of faults, many an evill may not only be, but also spread in his parish, without any remedy (which cannot be applied without notice), to the dishonor of God and the infection of his flock, and the increase of schisme, and hindrance of the mission, on the other side, not to be unduly to open faults, is better to multiply sin, than to let it wither; for we must not do evill that we should see good. *1. of the Romans* vi. 8. Now the parson taking this point to task, which is so exceeding much, and soethen, in so deep note, that it runs the very life and substance of conversation, hath concluded thus, in the discussing of it. First, say what is done, as private. Again, not alius fault, *sed alius* fault, as we know, for we can never be sure, if the fault we are to take notice of, is not the fault of the person we are to take notice of.

17. "Nevertheless, if the preacher deliver a Sermon, he is much troubled for his mind, and cannot get another man, but that he should command all the Sermon words must turne, and forbear to speak of that which even God Himself hath forgotten."¹⁷

The Author's Prayer before Sermon.

O Almighty and everliving Lord God, Majesty and Power and Brightnesse and Glory, how shall we dare to appear before Thy face, who are contrary to Thee, in all we call Thee? for we are darkness and we are nakedness and filthinesse and shame: Miserable and sinful creatures: yet art Thou our Creator, and we Thy work, Thy hands both made us, and also made us Lords of all Thy creatures: giving us one world in ourselves, and another to serve us;¹⁸ then didst Thou place us in Paradise, and wert proceeding still on Thy favours, untill we interrupted Thy counsels, did appointed Thy purposes, and sold our God, our glorious, our gracious God, for an apple. O, write it: O, brand it in our foreheads for ever: for an apple we have lost our God, and still lose Him for no more for money, for meat, for diet. But Thou, Lord, art patient and pity and sweetnesse and love: therefore we can be comforted and comforted. Thou hast exiled Adam from Eden, Adam, and hast made us a servitude to our judgments, have said, that they who have sinned shall be punished, and shall be punished.

a Land of light, a storehouse of Thy treasures and mercies. O, let not our foolish and unworthy hearts rob us of the continuance of this Thy sweet love; but pardon our sins, and perfect what Thou hast begun. Ride on, Lord, because of the word of truth and meekness and righteousness; and Thy right hand shall teach Thee terrible things' [Psalm xlv. 4]. Especially bless this portion here assembled together, with Thy unworthy servant speaking unto them. Lord Jesu, teach Thou me, that I may teach them; sanctify and enable^o all my powers, that in their full strength they may deliver Thy message reverently, readily, faithfully, and fruitfully. O, make Thy word a swift word, passing from the ear to the heart, from the heart to the life and conversation; that as the rain returns not empty, so neither may Thy word, but accomplish that for which it is given. O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken; and do so for Thy blessed Son's sake, in Whose sweet and pleasing words we say, 'Our Father,' &c.

Prayer after Sermon.

LET THE God and the Father of all mercy, Who comforteth upon His benefits upon us. Thou hast created us, Thou hast called us, Thou hast justified us, Thou hast sanctified and adorned us; Thou wast born for us, and Thou didst die and bleed for us; Thou hast given us the Holy Spirit, the Comforter and Advocate. O Lord, Thy goodness shall be glorified in the hearts of all Thy people, and Thy name shall be praised in the Church of all ages.

was the time, and let us own both. It is very dangerous to bless ourselves too boldly; God hath cursed our blessings (Mal. ii. 2). And that He may bless to us our very curses, let us take with us words and say, 'To The Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses and multiplied pardons; to us shame and confusion, as at this day' Daniel ix. 7. 'The most compendious way to get what belongs to God is to take to ourselves what belongs to us. If we would judge ourselves, and every man, knowing the plague of his own heart, by God's dealing to heart, and accepting of our punishment, give glory to God, and humble ourselves under His mighty hand, then shall God exalt us and accept us, and take away our reproach.

If we shall confesse our sins, that, like Simon and Levi, we have been brethren in evil, have broken the covenant of Levi, have done violence to and been partial in the Law, have made ourselves vile, and therefore are justly by God made contemptible and base before the people (Mal. ii.). If we shall confesse that we neither understood nor valued our high and holy calling as Christians, much lesse as ministers of Christ : that we did not thrive kindly when Providence had planted and watered us in those horns of oyl, the two Universities ; or removed us into countrey cures, we did not fructifie as this book will show) in any proportion to His encouragements, and therefore are justly cashiered out of His service, and strip of His rewards, * God is faithfull and just to forgive us (1 John i. 9.) : Iohnson 27. He that keeps his heart pure, saying, I have sinned, I have sinned, he shall be justified, and his righte-
ousness shall stand firm, and he shall see his life, and shall live.

"I will be a father to the fatherless, and I will be a merciful advocate to the oppressed." The Lord, the "merciful advocate," has promised that the "fatherless" will be "Psalm cxviii, 27." But the "fatherless" are not dead, though we do not know how many have died since we left the land, the habitation of the dead (ch. 76). But they are not dead, that is to say, the living, seeing that it is a blessing thing to "help the fatherless" (cf. Gen. 18:26). "I will be a father to the fatherless," and I will be a "merciful advocate" to every one that cries out "Down with it!" "Woe to the O-Assur, the rod of God's anger; the staff in thine hand is God's indignation." Thou, Lord, hast ordained him for judgment, and established him, for correction – even for our correction.

tively; God grant that both we and they may do it right. Though I shall still strive with them about the justice of the First Cause; yet about the justness of our persons will I not strive with them, nor about any other matter, save only who shall confess themselves greater sinners to God. I have silenced David (Psalm li.), and Ezra and Nehemiah and Daniel in their 9 chap., and cited only these to confirm myself and thee, brother, in this duty of giving glory to God in this manner, '*Et confitebitur Tibi omnes populi.*' Even so, true and righteous are Thy judgments in all the world, O Lord God Almighty; yea, mercifull are they, and far below our deservings.

I hope no man will think, though I speak thus, that I give him leave to construe my words mathematically, as if there was not an atom or hair of a good man or man of God in our Church. There were divers primitive (and are at this day; blessed be God! the Lord make them 1000 times more then they are) holy and heavenly souls, vessels chosen and fitted for the service of the sanctuary. I shall be bold to instance in three, who died in peace; few considering (some did) that they were taken away from the evil to come, lest their eyes should see (what their spirits fore saw) what is come on us, on whom the days, not of visitation only, but of vengeance, even the ends of the world are come.

The first of these was Thomas Jackson, D.D., late President of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, and sometimes Vicar of St. Nicholas Church in Newcastle upon Tyne, two places that must give account to God for the good they had or might have had by that man, as all scholars must for his neglected works.^a

The second was Mr. Nicholas Ferrer, of Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire, sometimes Fellow Commoner and Fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge.^b

The third was the author of this book, Master George Herbert, Fellow of Trinity Colledge, Orator of the University of Cambridge, and Rector of Bemerton in Wiltshire. All three holy in their lives, eminent in their gifts, signall Protestants for their religion, painfull — painstaking in their severall stations, precious in their deaths, and sweet in their memories.

First, I will give thee a briefe of some confrontments^c common to them all, and then some of their, at least this author's, proper excellencies apart.

I. They had had that insupportable lot and saine of Christ and

Christians (Isa. viii. 18, Heb. ii. 13, Luke ii. 34). To be signs of contradiction or spoken against; men wondered at and rated at by the world. Doctor Jackson in two particulars suffered much. 1. He had like to have been sore shent by the Parliament in the year 1628, for tenets in divinity, I cannot say so far driven by him as by some men now they are with great applause. His approach to unity was very near. 'Grant me,' saith he, 'but these two things, that God has a true freedom in doing good and man a true freedom in doing evill, there needs be no other controversy betwixt the opposites in point of providence and predestination' (Attrib. Ep. Dedm.). 2. He had an adversary in England who writ a book against him, with a title not so kindly as might have been devised. It was this: 'A Discovery of Dr. Jackson's Follies;' which he bound as an ornament upon him, as Job says; that is, never answered but in the language of the lamb dumb before the shearer, silence, and suffering. And he had one in Scotland who also girded at him without cause or answer.

And for Mr. Ferrar, he was so exercised with contradictions, as no man that lived so private as he desired to doe could possibly be more. I have heard him say, valuing, not resenting, his owne sufferings in this kind, that to fry a faggot was not more martyrdome than continuall oblopy. He was torn asunder as with mad horses, or crushed betwixt the upper and under millstone of contrary reports, that he was a Papist, and that he was a Puritan. What is, if this be not, to be sawn asunder as Eloy, stoned as Jeremy, made a drum, or tympanised, as other saints of God were? and after his death, when by injunction which he laid upon his friends when he lay on his death-bed a great company of comedies, tragedies, love hymns, heroicall poems, &c. were burnt upon his grave, as utter enemies to Christian principles and practices, that was his brand, some poor people said he was a conjurer.¹²

And for our author, the sweet singer of 'The Temple' though he was one of the most pendent and accomplished men of his time, I have heard of men censure him as a man that did not manage his brave parts to his best advantage and preferment, but lost him in an humble way. That was the phrase, I well remember it.

The second thing wherein all three agreed was a singular sincerity in teaching and transcendent dexterity in defending the Protestant Religion established in the Church of England.

I speak it in the presence of God, I have not read so heartily vigorous a champion against Rome amongst our writers of his rank so convincing and demonstrative as Dr. Jackson is. I blesse God for the confirmation which he hath given me in the Christian religion against the atheist, Jew, and Socinian, and in the Protestant against Rome. As also, by what I have seen in manuscript of Mr. Ferrar's, and heard by relation of his travels over the western parts of Christendome: in which his exquisite carriage, his rare parts and abilities of understanding and languages, his moralls more perfect than the best, did tempt the adversaries to tempt him, and marke him for a prize,¹⁴ if they could compasse him. And opportunity they had to do this, in a sicknesse that seized on him at Padua, where mighty care was had by physicians and others to recover his bodily health, with designe to infect his soul. But neither did their physick nor poyson work any change in his religion, but rather inflamed him with a holy zeale to revenge their charity, by transplanting their waste and mis-placed zeal (as they were all three admirable in separating from the vile what was precious in every sect or person under heaven) to adorn our Protestant religion, by a right renouncing the world with all its profits and honours, in a true crucifying the flesh with all its pleasures, by continued temperance, fasting, and watching unto prayers. In all which exercises, as he far outwent the choicest of their retired men, so did he far undervalue these deeds, rating them much below such prices as they set upon them. Upon this designe hee help'd to put out Lessius,¹⁵ and to stir up ministers to be painfull in that excellent labour of the Lord, catechizing, feeding the lambs of Christ: he translated a piece of Lud. Carbo, wherein Carbo confesseth that the hereticke *d. c.* Protestants had got much advantage by catechizing; but the authority at Cambridge suffered not that Egyptian jewell to

And he that reads Mr. Herbert's poems attentively, shall find not only the excellencies of Scripture divinitie and choice passages of the Fathers bound up in metre, but the doctrine of Rome also finely and strongly confuted, as in the poems To saints and Angels, The British Church, Church Militant, &c."

Thus stood they in aspect to Rome and her children on the north Land. As for our brethren that err'd on the right Land, Doctor Jackson speaks for himself, and Mr. F., though he ever considered their persons, that were pious and learned, and always

We think they are not true, but we think we see,
 We think we see that they have nobly said—
 That we have thought and planned to do the same;
 We pray ourselves, when leave and chance are given,
 To do as they do; while that we believe is a tradition,
 But leave to us shall be our consolation. (Vol. II. p. 1342.)

I pray God He may prove a true prophet for poor America, not against poor England. Ride on, most mighty Jesu, because of the word of truth. Thy Gospel is a light big enough for them and us; but leave us not. The people of Thine holiness have possessed it but a little while (Isaiah lxiii. 15, &c.).

When some farmers, neer the place where Master Ferrer lived, somewhat before these times, desired longer leases to be made them, he intimated that seven yeares would be long enough, troublous times were coming; they might thank God if they enjoyed them so long in peace.

But considering the accustomed modesty of Dr. Jackson in speaking of things not certain, I much admire that strange appendix to his sermons, partly delivered before the king, and the signes of the times, printed in the year 1637,² touching the great tempest of wind which fell out upon the eve of the fifth of November 1636.³ He was much astonished at it, and what apprehension he had of it appears by these words of his: 'This mighty wind was more then a signe of the time, *tempus quoniam calidum est*; the very time itself was a time, and interprets this messenger's voice better then a linguist, as well as the prophets, were any now, could do.' Both wind and time teach us that truth often mentioned in these meditations. Thus much the reader may understand, that though we of this landem were in time to come with all the nations of the earth, yet it is still in God's power, we may tear in His purpose, to plague this landem by His own immediate hand, by this messenger or by like tempests, more grievously then He hath done at any time, by the famine, sword, or pestilence, to bury many living souls, as well of superiour as inferiour rank, in the ruins of their stately houses or meaner cottages, &c.

And what shall be thought of that which fell from his pen in his epistle-dedication of his attributes, written November 20, 1627, and printed 1628 in these words or more? 'If any maintain that all things were so decreed by God before the creation, that nothing since could have taken out otherwise then it hath done, that nothing can be amended that is amisse, I desire leave to oppose it.' I oppose not only as an error, but as an

nor retire to any other calling.⁵⁷ However, probably he might, I have heard, as other orators, have had a secretary of state's place.

But the good man, like a genuine son of Levi, I had like to have said Malchisedek, (bathed all soother ways; saw neither father nor mother, child nor brethren, neither friends, save in Christ Jesus; chose the Lord for his portion, and His service for employment. And he knew full well what he did when he received Holy Orders, as appears by every page in this book, and by the poems, *on Priesthood* and *Aaron*, and by this unparelled vigilance, which he used over his parish, which made him, says that modest antiquary of the epistle before his poems, N. P., who knew him well, a peer to the penititive suits, and more than a pattern to his own age.

Besides his parsonage, he had a living prebend in the church of Lincoln, which I think, because he lived far from, and so could not attend the duty of that place, he would faine have resigned to Master Ferrer, and often earnestly sued him, to discharge him of it; but Master F. wholly refused, and diverted or directed his charity, as I take it, to the re-edifying of the ruined church of Leighton, where the corpse of the prebend lay. So that the Church of England owes him, besides what good may come by this book towards the repair of *us churchmen* in point of morals, the reparation of a church *in stone*, and erection of that costly piece of Mosaick or Sclavonian work, *The Temple*, which he had so long and strenuously laboured for, and which he has now so happily completed.

There is, as I have said, one thing which I admire above all the rest; the right managing of the fraternal duty of reproof is, methinks, one of the most difficult offices of Christian prudence. O Lord, what is then the ministeriall? To do it as wee should is likely to anger a whole world of waspes, to set fire on the candle. This I have conjectured, was that which made many such persons the *scallions of the parsonage*. In the eyes of the ancients it was not counted by ancients an act of perfection, but of cowardise and poor-spiritednesse, of flight to shade and shelter, not of fight in dust and blood and heat of the day. This author had not only got the courage to do this, but the art of doing this aright.

There was not a man in his way do he, of what ranke he would, that spoke awry in order to God, but he wip'd his mouth with a modest grace, and Christian reproof. This was

heroicall, adequate to that royall law, 'Thou shalt in any case reprove thy brother, and not suffer sin upon him' Lev. xix. 17. . . And that he did this, I have heard from true reporters, and thou mayst see he had learned it himselfe, else he never had taught it us, as he does in divers passages of this booke.

His singular dexterity in sweetning this art thou mayst see in the word and phrase of his writing. Like a wise master builder, he has set about a forme of speech, transferred it in a figure, as if he was all the while learning from another man's mouth or pen, and not teaching any. . . And whereas we all of us deserved the sharpnesse of reproof, *ἡμετερεῖς ἀπορώτατοι*, he telleth he does this and he does that; whereas, poor men, we did no such thing. This dart of his, thus dipped, pierces the soul.

There is another thing some will call it a paradoxe which I learned from him and Mr. Ferrer in the memory of their most cordiall and Christian friendship. That this may be maintained in vigour and height without the ceremonies of visits and complements; yea, without any trade of secular courtesies, merrily in order to spirituall edification of one another in love. I know they loved each other most entirely, and their very souls cleaved together most intimately, and drove a large stock of Christian intelligence together long before their deaths; yet saw they not each other in many years.

I think scarce ever - but as members of one Universitie, in their whole lives.

There is one thing more may be learn'd from these two. I may say these three also; namely, that Christian charity will keep unity of souls amidst great differences of gifts and opinions. There was variation considerable in their endowments. Doctor Jackson, had in his youth, as if he then had understood to the full, the *ἑρμηνεία* of the *ἱερά γραφή*, mathematics, naturall philosophy, geometry, rhetorick, logicke, philosophy, Orientall languages, histories, &c. yea, he had insight in herudry and hieroglyphicks; he made, all the reserve either as rubbish under the foundation, or as denudices and dry labours to theology. He was copious and definitive in controversies of all sorts. Master Ferrer was master of the western tongues, yet cared not for criticismes and curiosities. He was also very modest in points of controversie, and would scarce venture to opine, even in the points wherein the world censured him pos-

excellent. Our author was, on a middle temper, a natural, on a comparison of both these, yet having rather more of Master Forster in him. And to what he had of him he added the art of living poeie and other polite learning, which so commended him to persons most eminent in their time, that Doctor Donne inscribed to him a paper of Latine verses in print; and the Lord Bacon, having translated some psalmes into English measure, sent them with a dedication prefixed, 'To his very good friend, Master George Herbert,' thinking that he had kept a true decorum in chusing one so fit for the argument in respect of divinity and poeie, the one as the matter, the other as the stile, that a better choice he could not make.

In sum, to distinguish them by better resemblances out of the Old and New Testament and antiquity, methinks Doctor J. has somewhat like the spirit of Jereny, Saint James, and Salvian; Master Herbert, like David and other psalm-men, Saint John, and Prudentius; Master F. like Esay, Saint Luke, and Saint Chrysostome; yet in this diversity had they such an harmony of souls as was admirable. For instance, in one who differ'd in some points from them all, yet in him they so agreed all, as that Master F., out of a great liking of the man, translated him into English, Master Herbert commented on him and commended him to use, and Doctor J. allowed him for the presse: it was Valdesso's '110 Considerations.'

It would swell this preface too much to set down the several excellencies of our authour. His conscientious expence of time, which he even measured by the pulse, that native watch God has set in every of us; his eminent temperance and frugality (the two best purveyors for his liberality and benevolence); his private fastings, his mortification of the body; his extraordinary exercises thereof at the sight or visit of a charitable house, where every bone, before the day, rises up in indignation against sloth, lust and vice; at the stroke of a passing bell, when ancient charity us'd, said he, to run to church and assist the dying Christian with prayers and tears, for sure that was the ground of that customer; and at all occasions to could lay hold of possibly, which he sought with the same diligence that others shun and shift them; besides his careful, not sermon-bus, observation of appointed fasts, Lents, and Fastors; the neglect and defect of this last, he said, had set a blot on the countenance and fitness of the Church, did he stand on that point, but others are said to have overruled and prode

name, Vicar of Dabram, burnt to death in Cambridge; who, having the Common Prayer-book in his hand instead of a censor, and using the prayers as incense, offered up himself as a whole burnt sacrifice to God, with whom the very book itself suffered martyrdom; when, fallen out of his consumed hands, it was by the executioner's thrown into the fire and burnt as an execrable book.

He was, moreover, so great a lover of church music, that he usually called it heaven upon earth, and attended it a few days before his death. But above all, his chief delight was in the holy Scriptures, one leaf whereof he professed he would not part with, though he might have the whole world in exchange. That was his wisdom, his comfort, his joy; out of that he took his motto, 'Lesse than the least of all God's mercies.' In that he found that substance Christ, and in Christ remission of sins; yea, in His blood he placed the goodnesse of his good works. 'It is a good work,' said he of building a church, 'if it be sprinkled with the blood of Christ.'

This high esteem of the Word of life, as it wrought in himselfe a wondrous expression of high reverence whenever he either read it himselfe or heard others read it, so it made him equally wonder that those which pretended such extraordinary love to Christ Jesus, as many did, could possibly give such leave and liberty to themselves as to hear that Word, that shall judge us at the last day, without any the least expression of that holy feare and trembling which they ought to charge upon their souls in private, and in publike to imprint upon *others*.

Thus have I with my foul hands soiled this and the other fair pieces, and worn out thy patience; yet have I not so much as with one dash of a pensill offered to describe that person of his, which afforded so unusuall a consecration²⁷ of elegancies and set of rarities to the beholder; nor said I any thing of his personall relation, as a husband to a loving and vertuous lady, as a kinsman, master, &c. Yet will I not conceal his spirituall love and care of servants; teaching masters this duty—to allow their servants daily time wherein to pray privately, and to enjeyne them to do it; holding this for true generally, that publike prayer alone to such persons is no prayer at all.

I have given thee onely these lineaments of his mind, and thou mayst fully serve thyselfe of this book in what vertue of his thy self longeth after. His practice it was, and his cha-

reflecting his nonpartisan attitude toward the human rights movement, he had not been invited to this honor, and he was disappointed. The 1993 Nobel Prize laureate had been one of the project's main goals to bring into the world and to the United States. I have nothing to regret about the decision not to see my colleagues both in person and in print.

JPL NOLX 13

§ 2. Secondly, to do a piece of right, an office of justice to the good man that was possessor of the manuscript of this book, and transmitted it freely to the stationer who first printed it, meely upon design to benefit the clergie, and in them the Church of England. He was Mr. Edmund Duncon, Rector of Fryarn-Barnet, in the county of Middlesex, brother to Dr. Eleazar Duncon³¹ and Mr. John Duncon,³² two very learned and worthy persons, and great sufferers, who both died before the miracle of our happy restauration, and were happy in that they lived not to see such ostentation of sin and ingratitude as some since have made: as if they had been delivered from slavery under the tyrant, that they might with more liberty yield themselves servants to sin under the tyranny of Satan.

§ 3. Thirdly, to tell some of my thoughts for their good unto my younger conforming brethren; as for mine elder, dignitaries and our fathers in God, I look upon them as judges how I demean myself in this matter. I say, to tell them, first, what an halcyonian calm, a blessed time of peace, this Church of England had for many years, above all the Churches in the world besides (God grant that they may live to see the like); at the very *Ἀκμή* of which time, when the king, St. Charles of B. M.,³³ and the good Archbishop of Canterbury,³⁴ with others, were endeavouring to perfect the clergy in regularitie of life, uniformity of officiating, and all variety of learning, then did schism, faction, and jealousie kindle that fire which destroyed both Church and State; and when they had done so, did cunningly cry out upon such who laboured most to quench it, as if those very men had been the only or the chief incendiaries. It is meet that the younger clerks be reminded of this, because a considerable number of them who be now admitted into H. Orders and inducted into livings were not born before the troubles broke forth, which was about the year 1638. These men, therefore, shall do well to acquaint themselves with the most exact and impartial histories of the last past forty years, wherein there have been the strangest revolutions that ever happened in England in such a space of time. This is requisite to enable them to teach the people of this land, where all things are forgotten, what use they ought to make of God's mercies before, of His judgments in the wars, and after them also; of the great plague in the year 1665; of the Dutch war in the same year and in the year 1672, &c.; and of His contending by fire

a curate of souls, using this book as a looking glass to inform them what is decent.

§ 4. In this fourth paragraph I intend an address to our nonconforming brethren; both to those that are out of parochial cures, and to those that, having benefices, conform with duplicity of mind and do as little as they can. I beg leave to tell them, and desire them to believe that I do it in all sincere humilitie and charitie —

First, that all the clergie of mine acquaintance, and I verily believe all the old clergie of the nation, as well as my poor self and many of the younger, do long to see ourselves and our younger brethren conform to that idea of a clerk which the noble holy Herbert hath pourtraied in this book.

Secondly, that what dissimilitude is found in the younger clergie is partly occasioned by that disturbance which the late wars made in the universities.

Thirdly, they therefore have the greatest reason imaginable to come in with speed, and join cordially in helping to repair those breaches in the Church which they first made, at which swarms of sectaries have entered in amongst us, and too many others have eloped out into the Church of Rome.

I do verily believe that the best amongst them would think it a rich blessing to see both Church and State in such condition as they were in before themselves moved towards a change. And if all the Presbyterians would first seriously reflect upon the issues of their attempts — the death of the king, the best of princes — of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of the Lords Strafford and Montross;²⁶ four persons most worthy to live, as Josephus says of those Jews whom the Zealots slew in Jerusalem — and all the blood spilt and treasure spent in the wars;

Secondly, upon the suddain total disappointment of their whole design;

Thirdly, upon the manifested falseness of that calumny cast upon the good old bishops and clergie, as if they meant to bring in Popery, for the increase of which the Presbyterians have given great opportunitie, though they did not intend it;

Fourthly, upon the sad corruption of manners that broke in upon the discipline of government;

Fifthly, upon the apostacie from the Church, and violent inclination of sects, — methinks they should not think it enough to wipe their mouths and wash their hands, and say, 'We meant well; we intended the glory of God,' &c., but to bring forth

honour, *ab extra, ab intra*, of comfort and joy. Aristotle says, 'He is the best artificer that can make the best shoe of that leather that is given him.' That minister that hath a poor living, and yet lives as well and does as much good as is possible to be done by any one that hath no better, shall have praise both of God and man. I have not observed any one thing, behither⁶¹ vice, that hath occasioned so much contempt of the clergie as unwillingness to take or keep a poor living.

An holy man in a poor living is in a kingdom, if there be a kingdom of heaven upon earth, as I believe I know there is. It is a thesis that I dare undertake to make good against a Jesuit: *Status inopis parochi in Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ, est perfectior statu eujuslibet monachi in Ecclesiâ Romanâ.*

There be two main occasions of contempt which you take no notice of. The one external, and that is envy; a mighty engine, which sometimes casts hatred and instruments of death, sometimes bolts of scorn, upon men. *Laici sunt invidiosi cléricis*, is a proverb that holds in the many. It daily feeds, partly upon the patrimonie of the Church, by God's wonderful providence restored to the clergie and rescued from those that had devoured it (and I do here, in the name of my brethren, acknowledge that for that mercy, and the mean profits of it, we are all accountable to God and man); partly upon the sedentary lives of churchmen, because they do not make tents as St. Paul did, nor hold the plow, thresh, or drive trades as themselves do, they think them idle persons.

The other occasion omitted by you, which also affords nourishment to envy, is the affectation of gallantrie, &c.

But your defect in assigning real grounds is recompensed with a great excess of instances in a long legend of clerks: *ἱερομόναχοι, κατὰ νεκρολογίαν καὶ θύμους τῶν νεκροῦντων Θεοῦ*—some of which were dead till sixty years ago. I hope God has not given them; and I beseech Him to prevent the like in all that be alive. And I pray you consider what reputation he is like to gain, that in a Church having eight or nine thousand parishes, and perhaps as many clerks, or more, shall make it his business to ravel into sixty years backward, twenty of which were a miserable anarchie, and to collect the *imprudenter dicta* of young and weak preachers, to weed their books and make a compoüre loathsome to all good men, delightful only to such as make a mock of sin. Besides, you have imposed upon the reader, by charging the clergy of the Church of England with

The Rev. Dr. Breton, son to the late Lord Breton, of Breton-green in Cheshire, is another.

worthie of them or their relations; 2. to look upon the patri-
monie of the Church as a good provision for their own dear
children (as it is also for every mother's son of the commonaltie
that is duly emulid); and 3. therefore that it is not only an
impious thing, because sacrilegious, but also an impoliticke deed,
because destructive of the means of a man's own and his chil-
dren's well-being, to wish or desire, much more to consent to
or endeavour, the taking away of church means devoted to God
for the maintenance of such as attend His service.

This address to the nobles has not made me forget T. B.
I mean to take my leave of him in as friendly a manner as I
begin;⁸⁶ and the rather because he intimates a wish that some
augmentation of means might be made to the poor clergie: a
thing that my soul desirith, and more, I intend to endeavour
it when and wherever it lies in my power. If I had 10,000
pounds, I would give 9000 of it to that use. A thing which
the cathedral church of Worcester hath carefully done; and I
know not any cathedral that hath left it undone.

I know a prebendary of the c. church of York that refused
3000*l.* that was given him in lease of an (in)appropriation and chose
rather to settle half the clear profits of the tithes for an aug-
mentation upon the vicar; and another, of another church,
that hee sold a tithel that cost 500 pounds, with divers other
instances of this kind.

Thereupon I have complied with his wish. I entreat him
to condescend to an earnest request of mine, that he would
endeavour, if not to augment the means of the poor clergie, yet
to recompence the injurie his book hath done them.

§ 6. But all this while do I not forget myself again, and
the church too. I will conclude this paper with a short
description of my present condition.

Heaven hath blessed Samuel, becom'g God by his devout
prayers, his good name, chosen by them, and dedicated to serve
God in His sanctuary before he was born, upon preappointed
of shape and temper of body, of abilities and faculties of mind
fit for that service, and these allowed for such by men of ex-
quisite judgment: season'd in his infancie at home with pietie;
at school, with arts; accomplished with sciences and degrees
at the Universitie; prepared for Holy Orders by prayer and
reading of St. Chrysostom de Sacerdotio, St. Gregorie's Pas-
toral, and such other books as learned men shall direct,
counsel'd by a bishop, or excited by a doctor of a college, or some

have divine to receive H. Orders; and when he is entred, he governs himself by the canons of the Church and best examples of the age. In sum, he imitates the author of 'The Temple' and of this book, 'The Priest to the Temple,' the holy Mr. George Herbert. To whom God assimilate the clergy, and amongst them the most unworthy.

BARNABAS OLEY.

APPENDIX.

A. *The Author's letter to the reader.*

The first edition of this book came out in sad times, anno Domini, 1652, when violence had gotten the upper hand; what here next follows was then thought meet to be the preface to it. Now the Minority, Who changeth times and seasons, Him self abiding unchangeable, having for His own name's sake, and their sakes to whom the former preface was dedicated, who many of them were fervent intercessors for the same, wrought a wonderful deliverance; it is thought fit that it should

place to another, that may move the reader to thankfulness for that stupendous mercy; and to express it, as by an other possible to them; us, so by making a new use of this book.

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NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

¹ p. 122, 'hee shoots higher that threatens the moon,' &c. Cf. 'The Church Porch,' st. lvi.

² p. 123, 'revoking' = calling back.

³ p. 123, 'the dignity,' &c. Cf. Walton's *Life* of Herbert, *ante*, pp. 31-2.

⁴ p. 125, 'If it be objected that the poverty of some of the clergy forces them to suppress their sentiments in some things, and to suffer what ever an overbearing tyrant shall think fit to put upon them, to this I answer: that the temptation to this amongst those who have been prevented before their going into Holy Orders; for those who can not be supplied with a competent fortune by themselves, their relations, or at least by some creditable independent person, had much better choose some other interior employment, than expose themselves to such a violent disorder in this. And as for those in there be any such who do not discharge their office with that piety, and discreetly-managed resolution which God and the Church expects from them, it will not be improper to remind them of what Mr. Herbert hath written ("Country Parson"), where he tells us "that such persons wrong the priesthood, neglect their duty, and shall be so far from that which they seek by their over-submissiveness and cringing, that they shall ever be despised." Indeed, they have no reason to expect any better usage; for as flattery is deservedly accounted one of the most contemptible vices, so a clergyman, when he is guilty of it, is the worst of flatterers' (Jeremy Collier, *Essays*, third edition, 1698, p. 236).

⁵ p. 126, 'travell' = travail.

⁶ p. 127, 'I sate dailly,' &c. Here and elsewhere I have written *sate* for *sate*, as in the original.

⁷ p. 127, 'habitation' = cf. 'The Church Porch,' st. lxiii.

⁸ p. 130, 'composures' = gatherings or compilations.

⁹ p. 131, Herbert writes in the temper of that age in which Bishop Taylor's great work, the *Ductor Dubitantium*, or

‘The Church of England, the only true Church, the only one that has the power to bind and loose.’

¹⁷ p. 152, ‘a hook of his clarity,’ see ‘The Church Porch,’ st. i. l. 4.

¹⁸ p. 154, ‘perfumed with incense.’ In recollection of Isaiah lxvi. 3, it must be permitted us to protest against the use of ‘incense’ under the Gospel.

¹⁹ p. 154, ‘foolish anticks.’ Without examples one can hardly judge what was meant. But query— is Herbert punning characteristically upon antic and antique, then often spelt alike—and alluding to the odd turns and twists of old-fashioned letters, unintelligible to country folk?

²⁰ p. 155, ‘score’—‘muck,’ or, as we say, clack out the way.

²¹ p. 157, ‘labour profanely’=as the ‘profane’ or profaner.

²² p. 159, ‘miserable comparison’=unhappy, figuratively.

²³ p. 160, ‘disaffected’=not affected; that is, not caring for, or not well disposed or affected towards religion, &c. To ‘affect’ in the then English was to like or more than like, have a regard or affection for.

²⁴ p. 160, So Dr. Johnson: ‘Sir, the life of a parson, of a conscientious clergyman, is not easy. I have always considered a clergyman as the father of a larger family than he is able to maintain’ (Croker’s ‘Johnson,’ vii. 152).

²⁵ p. 161, ‘determine’; a law term often used at that time and by Shakespeare. Here it seems to mean authoritatively declare or give judgment as a judge.

²⁶ p. 163, ‘censure’; matured thought, judgment; sometimes used also for a censure, or supercilious contempt.

²⁷ p. 163, ‘suppling’; oiled words, that render a man supple or conformable, as oil does a bow, &c. See its use in Poems, Vol. I, p. 68; Southwell, *s.c.* &c.

²⁸ p. 163, ‘that of mirth.’ So it was a saying of Abp. Ussher: ‘If good people would but make goodness agreeable, and smile instead of frowning in their virtue, how many they would win to the good cause!’ (Willmott.)

²⁹ p. 164, ‘set at an armour’=rated at an armour, or what ever he was bound to contribute towards the equipment of any force for the king’s service. From Herbert’s words it might be inferred that each rated person was bound to produce his armour or horse, &c., at certain times to show they had them, and in readiness and in good order.

⁶ p. 164, 'respectively': 'nearly' respectfully. See Poems, Vol. I, pp. 20, 256-7.

price of the 'Country Parson' was two testers or twelve pence.

p. 172

⁷⁸ p. 174, 'afore:' see note ¹⁵.

⁷⁹ p. 174, 'present:' to bring an information against one, to lay before a court of judicature as an object of inquiry. So earlier.

⁸⁰ p. 174, 'their judg.' Cf. 'The Church Porch,' st. lxxii. l. i.

⁸¹ p. 174, 'Dalton's Justice of Peace:' the first edition of Michael Dalton's 'Country Justice' was published in 1618; an edition (folio) was issued in 1746.

⁸² p. 175, 'most gainfull way of conversation?' cf. 'The Church Porch,' st. l.

⁸³ p. 176, 'tickle?' in later editions changed to 'difficult.' Applied to anything in a dangerous or hazardous condition, so balanced that a touch may move it either way. Thus Shakespeare before the groundlings or pittores to a new lock, whose ~~any~~ as some or part of the mechanism acts on the trigger and the rest of the lock) is so touchy as—like a hair trigger—it can be set off by the slightest jar or touch ('Hamlet,' ii. 2). It is 'tickle' walking on the edge of a precipice or on a rope. Our present colloquial word is ticklish, as when it is said of a man betwixt life and death he is in a ticklish state.

⁸⁴ p. 176, 'anatomy'—a dissection of a human body. 'Fernelius?' John Francis Fernel, or Fernelius, the renowned physician of Henry II. of France. He died 1558. His name and books are still quick. They abound in curious out-of-the-way observations, and are packed full of actual facts.

⁸⁵ p. 177, 'Medicinal herbs:' Parkinson's 'Theatr. Botan.' (1640) furnishes abundant curious lore on these medicinal herbs and flowers of Herbert. Thither the reader desirous to pursue the subject is referred. Suffice it here to note that the various 'plantains,' including the common plantain or waybread, were, as the readers of Shakespeare may remember, 'singular good wound herbs to heal fresh or old wounds and sores' ('Hamlet' and 'Jul.' i. 2), and these either inward or outward, and various skin diseases. Further, that Bolearmena is—Bolearmon or Armenian earth. John Parkinson, 'apothecary of London and the king's herbarist,' is a delightful companion for a busy week in the country. Over and over elucidations of some of the plants which represent themselves in the most familiar places. These scientific names of the less known plants and flowers may be acceptable to some: Plantain (genus *Plantago*), Shepherd's Purse (*Capsella bursa-pastoris*), Knot (*Lythrum*), Foxglove (*Adonis*), *Artemisia* (genus *Mercurialis*).

to 'backbiting' or speaking evil behind back, as well as personal 'evil-speaking' in anger.

⁸² p. 189, 'enabled' aided, qualified.

⁸³ p. 189, 'loose' lose.

⁸⁴ p. 190, 'present:' see note ⁵⁷.

⁸⁵ p. 190, 'Do well,' &c.: a reminiscence of *Fiat justitia, eruat eorum*.

⁸⁶ p. 190-2, 'soyle' . . . 'cock-sure,' 'Soyle'—to manure (Bailey, Ash). 'Cock-sure'—'quite certain,' says Willmott, and dates from time of Skelton at least. Although cock is applied, I believe, only to the heap of mown hay, and not to that of cut corn, it is pretty clear from the whole context that Herbert had in view a sort of punning conceit.

⁸⁷ p. 192, 'imbarn'—in-barn.

⁸⁸ p. 193-4, 'exigent' . . . 'mislike:' former a favourite word with the old Puritans, *e.g.* Thomas Brooks' 'Mute-Christian' . . . Sovereign Antidotes against the most miserable *Exigents*' (1681). Cf. Shakespeare, 'Julius Caesar,' v. 1; 'Antony and Cleopatra,' iv. 12. —our 'exigency.' 'To a mislike'—so far as.

⁸⁹ p. 195, 'nearest way lie through the church.' Herbert's own church immediately adjoining his parsonage no doubt furnished this 'case of conscience.'

⁹⁰ p. 195, 'idleness:' cf. 'The Church Porch,' st. xvi.-xvii.

⁹¹ p. 197, 'the gallant:' the 'fop' or gentleman of fashion. Herbert would relish his friend Dean Donne's satiric portraits of him. 'The Church Porch' is full of keen sarcasm in the same line.

⁹² p. 197, 'drowning'—flooding.

⁹³ p. 199, 'graffe:' later editions spell 'graft'—merely variants.

⁹⁴ p. 200, 'a morning man:' that is one who merely attends the ordinary deliberations of the House. We now reverse the hours of Committee and of the House.

⁹⁵ p. 200, 'great horse:'—destrier, a steed, a great horse, horse of service' (Cotgrave).

⁹⁶ p. 200, 'gestures:' later editions, 'postures.'

⁹⁷ p. 200, 'squared out:' accurately traced out and regulated, as a carpenter or mason squares his work with the instrument so called. Therefore by consequence—apportioned. See Poems, Vol. I. pp. 166, 306.

⁹⁸ p. 200, 'complementing:' cf. 'The Church Porch,' st. xiv.

⁹⁹ p. 201. There was a great charm for the poetical mind

in these regions. Cowley, writing in 1656, says in the Preface to his Poems, 'My desire has been for some years past (though the execution has been accidentally diverted), and does still vehemently continue, to retire myself to some of our American plantations, not to seek for gold, or enrich myself with the traffic of those parts, which is the end of most men that travel thither, but to forsake this world for ever, with all the vanities and vexations of it, and to bury myself there in some obscure retreat, but not without the consolation of letters and philo-

[2]

¹ p. 201, 'father of the Poet, preached a noble rationalist sermon on the utility of Virginia in particular, and of plantations in general.' See our edition of Richard Caxsew, Memorial Introduction and Essay, Caxsew ard strenuously for the 'reasonableness' of such plantations.

² p. 201, 'artifices'—crafts, or devices, in good sense; workmanship or arts as practised by the artifex, or fine and exact work.

³ p. 202, 'then he writes'—then he, that writes. But query, was 'then' a misprint for 'that' in that he writes his rules out of other than books, out of experience, not by rote or tradition?

⁴ p. 202, 'military'—militant, the Christian life being a warfare. Cf. *1 Cor. x. 3.*

⁵ p. 203, 'the original signifies'—repente, Latin, *et*, and re-edited, from pen, penit; Greek, *pena*.

⁶ p. 205, 'the poet' &c. Notes and Illustrations in our Miscell., vol. III, pp. 174, 313, and also notes on manuscript, p. 355.

⁷ p. 206, 'the poet'—preaching. Cf. Wicliffe's Bible Word.

⁸ p. 206, 'the new full Joseph'—the reference is to Joseph's cure in preparation for the famine.

⁹ p. 206, 'the new full Joseph'—the reference is to Joseph's cure in preparation for the famine.

¹⁰ p. 210, 'the prophet'—the prophet of the use of this simile, *Isa. lvi. 1.*

¹¹ p. 210, 'procession'—parade of the 'marches' or four-folds.

¹² p. 210, 'the prophet'—the prophet of the use of this simile, *Isa. lvi. 1.*

¹³ p. 210, 'the prophet'—the prophet of the use of this simile, *Isa. lvi. 1.*

NOTES TO THE APPENDICES

¹ A prelatory view, *Ac.*, p. 220, this was prefixed to the first edition of the *Præfatus* in 1673.

² p. 220, 'lite' (later editions, 'light')—merely variants in the text.

³ p. 221, (respectively) 'see note to "A Priest to the Temple"'

p. 224, 'silenced'—kept silence on.

⁴ p. 224, 'Thomas Jackson, D.D.,' (born 1579; died 1640). His works were collected in three or at full's in 1673, with life by V. A. Latham, a new edition, 12 vols., 8vo (Oxford), 1841. See they in recent times by J. L. Jackson published in 1890.

⁵ p. 224, 'Mr. Nicholas Ferrar' (see note to Walton's Life of Nicholas Ferrar).

⁶ p. 225, 'shout'—injured.

⁷ is one of several notices of the learned polemical books of Dr. William Twisse, born 1575; died 1646. See charges against Jackson by Pryne and Buxton in Wood, ii, 166.

⁸ p. 225, 'none' (in Scotland, *Ac.*). Perhaps, incidentally, in Samuel Rutherford's many controversial writings. Henry Burton wrote 'Exceptions against a Passage in Dr. Jackson's Treatise' (1640).

⁹ which, succeeded.

¹⁰ Ferrar's lifetime the books were burned. See Preface to Major's Ferrar, as before, pp. 57-9. On p. 228, as a result of the 'seven' the latter's life was changed to 59.

¹¹ were placed alive, and in a plain frame into the 'open'.

¹² p. 226, 'marking line for a priest' (cf. 'The Church Porch').

¹³ p. 226, 'put out lessons'—'put out'—lessons as translated from the Latin.

¹⁷ p. 225, 'Weras,' vol. i, pp. 209-120. Leonard Lessius was a learned Jesuit, born Oct. 1, 1554; died 15th Jan. 1623-4. He was Theological Professor at Louvain.

¹⁸ p. 226, 'the authority:' viz. the Licensor of the Press. The license was obtained, but no 'imprimatur' appears in the poems. 'Egyptian jewel'—spoil from the Egyptians.

¹⁹ p. 226, Poems: To Saints and Angels, No. 51, Vol. I, p. 87; The British Church, No. 81, *ibid.* p. 124; The Church Militant, Vol. II, pp. 1 *et seqq.*

²⁰ p. 227, 'sinnings:' later editions (*e.g.* Pickering and Bell & Daddy, &c.) oddly misprint 'singings.'

²¹ p. 228, 'sermons:' see note ⁶ *supra*.

²² p. 228, 'great tempest of wind:' Defoe collected many waifs and strays on great wind storms. His work affords much curious reading.

²³ p. 229, 'two mothers:' *i.e.* herself and the University as *Alma Mater*.

²⁴ p. 230, Quotations: see 16, Affliction: Vol. I, pp. 53-4.

²⁵ p. 230, 'corps of the parband'—property or possessions, *i.e.* 'body' of the parband, and the related 'leases' on live-*c.*

²⁶ p. 231, 'conmured:' indeed—an excellent example of the use of the word.

²⁷ p. 233, 'be:' later editions, 'by.'

²⁸ p. 233, 'Mr. Hellier.' He is introduced into a poem by Thomas Bryce (Harris's *School Poetry*, chiefly devotional, of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1845, vol. i, p. 167).

Athena Cantabrigie,
the Annals of Cambridge,
 vol. i, p. 126.

He was Vicar of Babenham, Cambridgeshire, and being condemned for 'heresy' (so Catholic) was burnt at Jesu-green, Cambridge, on 16th April 1555. He was constant and loyal to the last. See 'Athena Cantabrigie,' vol. i, p. 126; 'Cooper's Annals of Cambridge,' ii, 103.

²⁹ p. 234, 'contesseration'—mosaic.

³⁰ p. 235, 'Timpius:' there is no such name in the 'Bibliotheca Catholica,' nor elsewhere, that I can trace. J. G. Tympe lived much later, 1699-1768.

³¹ p. 235, A preface to the Christian Reader, &c. Originally printed with the second edition of 'A Priest to the Temple' (1671), and a little enlarged in the third edition (1675); our text is the latter.

⁷⁷ p. 240, 'Is Eitheryne?' on this side of. (See Poems, Vol. I, pp. 49, 279.)

⁷⁸ p. 241, 'make a conscience of making rehearsal:' a phrase — to our 'make it a matter of conscience not to rehearse;' so, make a conscience of swearing.

⁷⁹ p. 241, 'Dr. Cever;' born 1637; died August 14th, 1713. His 'Lives of the Apostles' and other compilations are still reprinted.

⁸⁰ p. 242, 'Henry VIII.' 'What an archbishop 'bluff' Hal' don't have much! The fact seems certain, *viz.* of the paternal design. 'Dr. Mountague' James Montagu, fifth son of Sir Edward Montagu of Boudaton, county Northampton, and brother of Edward, first Earl of Manchester. He was the first Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and became successively Dean of Lichfield, Dean of Worcester, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and finally in 1616 Bishop of Winchester. He died at Greenwich 20th July 1618, aged about fifty, and was buried in Bath Abbey — a polemic, rather than a theologian, of disastrous influence.

⁸¹ p. 242, 'old Earl of Westmorland:' probably one of the seven sons of Ralph Nevill, fourth Earl of Westmorland, who died in 1549. Henry, fifth earl, had but one son, who succeeded as sixth and last earl, and had no male issue.

⁸² p. 242, 'old Lord Cameron:' Henry Fairfax, fourth but second surviving son of Thomas, first Lord Fairfax of Cameron; born at Bolton, county York, 14th January 1583, and educated Oglethorpe near Tadcaster; Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1608; became Rector of Ashton, then of Newton Kyme, and finally of Bolton Percy, county York; the last from 1646 to 1660, when he retired to Oglethorpe. He died 6th April 1665, and was buried in Bolton Percy Church.

⁸³ p. 242, 'Lord Gray's of Wark:' if this be true, he must have been either Ralph or John — the only brothers of William Grey, first Lord Grey of Werke (so created 1623); but no such fact occurs in the histories of the family.

⁸⁴ p. 242, 'Dr. Gray;' Rev. Anthony Gray, Rector of Barmston, county Lincoln; a distant connection of Henry, 6th Earl of Kent, succeeded as ninth earl in 1639, and died in 1643.

⁸⁵ p. 242, 'Dr. Henry Compton;' sixth and youngest son of Simon, second Earl of Northampton; became Bishop of Oxford in 1654, and was translated to the see of London 18th Decem-

in his church of Great Gransden, records abundant benefactions by him within the parish, and, as is not always the case, they are still operative and enlarging. The following 'additional note' from Professor Mayor's *Nicholas Ferrar*, as before, overflows with his usual copious references: "Barnabas Oley was a most laborious minister at Cambridge at the outbreak of the civil war (see the list of freshmen, not only all pupils of his, preserved in the college). See Walker's 'Sufferings,' in. 141-142; Wood's 'Ath.,' ii. 667; Benham's 'Ely,' 74, 27; Barwick's 'Life,' 26n.; Baker in Hearne's 'Caius,' 690; his will in Baker's MS. xii. (or xvi. ? the index gives both volumes) 191; his letter to Dr. Gower, *ibid.* ii. 116. "[I] can satisfy you that the rich man that desired to print Dr. [Jackson's] works was Mr. Nettleton, of University College; and the Cambridge man that solicited it, Mr. Oley of Clare Hall, who lives in the north privately, near the place of Lady [Savil's] demolished habitation" (Hammond's letter of Jan. 7, 1652-3, in the "Theologian and Ecclesiastic," xiii. 328). Lady S. lived at Althrop (*ibid.* vii. 69). "Mr. Oley is living, and I think now, in London, but I know not where" (Hammond, March 1 [1650-1], *ibid.* vii. 285) (pp. 303-4). The present incumbent of Great Gransden informs me that the following is an entry in his register: "The Reverend Barnabas Oley, B.D., Vicar of Great Gransden, was buried Feb., 22d, 1685, in woolen, as was sworn before Charles Cesar, Esq., and certified according to the act of Parliament made in that behalf by Act of Parliament, 22d, 1685, Oley, S. 1 B. A. 1685, Feb. 20, 1685."

With reference to Oley's notices of Herbert in the works of Nicholas Ferrar, I extract from the *Life of N. Ferrar*, by his Brother, John Ferrar, 1677, the following: "We have seen Mr. Herbert's works, and have ever since been that more in the preface to Mr. Herbert's "Country Parson;" it's but my poor pains to write it out of the book, but I can never too often read or meditate upon that discourse that is so useful and precious to all good Christians, which sheweth how necessary it is for all men to be diligent in their duty, and to be contented with that did more for his family than he did in all kinds and ways to their temporal welfare in preservation, augmentation, and maintenance of their civil estates and affairs, and that which is the perspective of all goodness and benefit, his never ceasing care and endeavor for their spiritual well-being, everlasting happiness, and glory forever."

III.

LETTER OF GEORGE THURBERG

NICHOLAS FERRAR

This Letter and the accompanying 'Briefe Notes' appeared originally in Nicholas Ferrar's translation of Viddessio's 'Considerations,' published in 1638; and our text is taken from it. In the succeeding edition of 1646, the characteristic headings of the Letter and Notes alike and the Notes themselves were mutilated in part and in part added to, being placed in the margins in their places. By returning on the edition of 1638, the 'Briefe Notes' are given as Herbert sent them and as Ferrar himself prepared them for the press—he himself having died before the publication of the volume. In regard to the additions of 1646, it has been deemed well to give them, but they are placed within brackets. It is to be regretted that modern reprints (*e.g.* Pickering's 'Herbert,' 2 vols. 8vo, 1853) follow the 1646 text. In appended Notes and Illustrations the loss and pseudo gain of so doing are pointed out. The 1646 explanations of Herbert's Notes are somewhat intrusive, and ought perhaps to have been removed. The title pages of 1638 and 1646 are as given on the opposite page, *a* and *b*.



LETTER TO NICHOLAS FERRAR.

*A Copy of a Letter written by Mr. George Herbert to
his friend the Translator of this Book.¹*

My deare and deserving Brother, Your Valdesso I now returne with many thanks, and some notes, in which perhaps you will discover some care, which I forbare not in the midst of my griefes: first, for your sake, because I would doe nothing negligently that you commit unto mee; secondly, for the author's sake, whom I conceive to have been a true servant of God, and to such and all that is theirs I owe diligenece; thirdly, for the Churches sake, to whom by printing it I would have you consecrate it. You owe the Church a debt, and God hath put this into your hands, as He sent the fish with mony to S. Peter, to discharge it: happily also with this, as His thoughts are fruitfull, intending the honour of His servant the author, who, being obscured in his own country, He vouchsafeth to publish abroad, and to make it knowne to all eyes. He is your Obedient Servant, George Herbert, His most humble and affectionate Son.

are some things which I like not in him, as my fragments will expresse when you read them ; nevertheless I wish you by all means to publish it, for these three eminent things observable therein : first, that God in the midst of Popery should open the eyes of one to understand and expresse so clearly and excellently the intent of the Gospell in the acceptation of Christ's righteousness as he sheweth through all his Considerations, a thing strangely buried and darkened by the adversaries, and their great stumbling-block. Secondly, the great honour and reverence which he every where beares towards our deare Master and Lord, concluding every Consideration almost with His holy name, and setting His merit forth so piously ; for which I doe so love him, that were there nothing else, I would print it, that with it the honour of my Lord might be published. Thirdly, the many pious rules of ordering our life about mortification and observation of God's Kingdome within us, and the working thereof, of which he was a very diligent observer. These three things are very eminent in the author, and overweigh the defects, as I conceive, towards the publishing thereof, &c.

Bromorton, Sept. 29.

*Brief Notes relating to the delincks and offensive places
in the 3 Consid. of the 3rd Treatise.*

To the 3 Consid. upon these words :

'Not by the sword do we conquer.'

'Other Law and other Doctrine have we.'

These words about the II. Scripture suite with what he writes elsewhere, especially Consid. 32. But I like none of it, for it slights the Scripture too much. Holy Scriptures have not only an elementary use, but a use of perfection, and are able to make the man of God perfect (1 Tim. iv.). And David (though David) studied all the day long in it ; and Joshua was to meditate therein day and night (Josh. the i.).

To the 3 Consid. upon these words :

*'As they also make use of the Scriptures to conserve
the health of their minds.'*

All the Saints of God may be said in some sense to have put confidence in Scripture, but not as a naked Word severed from God, but as the Word of God ; and in so doing they doe not sever there [*sic*] trust from God. But by trusting in the Word of God they trust in God. Hee that trusts in the king's word for any thing, trusts in the king.

To the 5 Consid. upon these words :

'God regards not how pious or impious we be.'

He that is pious, is not pious, because he is pious.

Consid. 71, upon *Our Father*; and Consid. 94, upon these words: 'God doth not hold them for good or for evill for that they observe or not observe,' &c., though it were the author's opinion, yet the truth of it would be examined. See the note upon Consid. 36.

To the 6 Consid.

The doctrine of the last passage must be warily understood. First, that it is not to be understood of actuall sinnes, but habituall; for I can no more free my selfe from actuall sinnes after Baptisme, then I could of originall before and without Baptisme. The exemption from both is by the grace of God. Secondly, among habits, some oppose theological vertues, as vncaritablenesse opposes charity, infidelity, faith, distrust, hope; of these none can free themselves of themselves, but only by the grace of God: other habits oppose morall vertues, as prodigality opposes moderation, and pusillanimity, magnanimity; of these the heathen freed themselves only by the generall providence of God, as Socrates and Aristides, &c. Where he sayes the 'inflammation of the naturall,' he sayes aptly, so it be understood with the former distinction; for *ignis* is not taken away, but *accensio foemilis*: the naturall concupiscence is not quite extinguished, but the heate of it asswaged.

To the 11 Consid.

He saith in this manner of speech, believing by

Revelation, not by relation :¹ whereby I understand he meaneth only the effectuall operation or illumination of the Holy Spirit testifying and applying the revealed truth of the Gospell, and not any private enthusiasmes or revelations : as if he should say, 'A generall apprehension or assent to the promises of the Gospell by heare-say, or relation from others, is not that which filleth the heart with joy and peace in believing : but the Spirit's bearing witnesse with our spirit, revealing and applying the generall promises to every one in particuler with such synccerity and efficacy, that it makes him godly, righteous, and sober all his life long, *et sic fides habet suum in Revelatione, et non in Relatione.*'

Whether in the passage to which this notion is attached, considers the state of that man who, though hard of belief and difficult to be persuaded, has at length been awakened to the truths of the Gospel, as infinitely preferable to the hasty faith which the man who is easily persuaded to adopt any opinion is too often induced to yield to the promises of the Gospel. The former, as having resigned his prejudices to the force of truth, is said to believe by Revelation : whereas the latter, as having yielded to the Gospel the same weak assent which any other doctrines equally might have drawn from him, is said to believe by relation, by human persuasion and the opinion of mankind.²

To the 32 Consid.

I much mislike the comparison of the images and II. Scripture, as if they were both but alphabets, and after a time to be left. The II. Scriptures, as I wrote before,⁶ have not only an elementary use, but a use of perfection; neither can they ever be exhausted, as pictures may be by a plenarie circumspection, but still even to the most learned and perfect in them there is somewhat to be learned more: therefore David desireth God in the 119 Psalme to open his eyes, that he might see the wondrous things of His Lawes, and that he would make them his study, although by other words of the same Psalme it is evident that he was not meanly conversant in them. Indeed, he that shall so attend to the bark⁷ of the letter as to neglect the consideration of God's worke in his heart through the Word, doth amisse; both are to be done—the Scriptures still used, and God's worke within us still observed. Who workes by His Word and ever in the reading of it. As for the text, 'They shall be all taught of God,' it being Scripture cannot be spoken to the disparagement of Scripture; but the meaning is this, That God in the dayes of the Gospell will not give an outward law of ceremonies as of old, but such a one as shall still have the assistance of the Holy Spirit applying it to our hearts, and ever outrunning the teacher, as it did when Peter taught Cornelius. There the case is plaine: Cor-

nelius had revelation, yet Peter was to be sent for, and those that have inspirations must still use Peter, God's Word: if we make another sense of that text, wee shall see that it is as much said to the learned as to the unlearned.

To the Scripture are

Deeds, Images, and Pictures added.

Promises - these give comfort unto man and more.

Ro. xv. 4.

[In this note Herbert justly objects to a very quaint and far fetched comparison which the author draws between the books of Holy Scripture and the images of the Roman Catholic Church. As the unlearned are fond of placing pictorial images in different situations, in order that the objects of their belief might never be absent from their minds, so the learned delight to heap up copies of the Holy Scriptures, with notes, comments, and explanations of wise men, that they may be furnished with every information which they may desire on the subject of the Christian faith. But in both cases alike, those who are not endued with the true inspiration of the Spirit confine themselves to the study of these their first rudiments; whereas the truly pious, who are guided by the Spirit of God, look upon Scripture in one case and images in the other as but the alphabet as it were of Christianity, and to be cast aside after they have once obtained the revelation and grace of God. This comparison, as being inapplicable,

and in fact leading to dangerous doctrines, Herbert very properly impugns.]

To the 33 Consid.

The doctrine of this Consideration cleareth that of the precedent. For as the servant leaves not the letter when he hath read it, but keepes it by him and reads it againe and againe, and the more the promise is delayed the more he reads it and fortifies himselfe with it; so are wee to doe with the Scriptures, and this is the use of the promises of the Scriptures. But the use of the doctrinall part is more, in regard it presents us not with the same thing only when it is read as the promises doe, but enlightens us with new considerations the more we read it. Much more might be said, but this sufficeth; he himselfe allowes it for a holy conversation and refreshment. [In the 32nd Consideration, and amongst all divine and spiritual exercises and duties, he nameth the reading and meditation of Holy Scripture for the first and principal, as Consid. 47 and others; so that it is plain the author had a very reverend esteem of the Holy Scripture, especially considering the time and place where he lived.

That Valdesse did not undervalue the Scriptures, notwithstanding the remarks alluded to in Herbert's last note, is evident from the passage to which this present note refers. In it the Scriptures are said to be to a man as a letter would be to a servant from his lord.

which is treasured up by him as containing promises of high and unusual favours, certain in the end to be fulfilled, although slow in coming.]

To the 36 Consid. on these words :

*'Neither fearing chastisement for transgression, nor
hoping for reward, for observation,' &c.'*

All the discourse from this line till the end of this chapter may seeme strange, but it is sutable to what the author holds elsewhere; for he maintaines that it is faith and infidelity that shall judge us now since the Gospell, and that no other sin or vertue hath anything to doe with us; if we believe, no sinne shall hurt us; if we believe not, no vertue shall helpe us. Therefore he saith here we shall not be punished (which word I like here better than chastizement, because even the godly are chastized, but not punished) for evill doing, nor rewarded for wel doing or living, for all the point lies in believing or not believing. And with this exposition the chapter is cleare enough; but the truth of the doctrine would be examined, however it may passe for his opinion: in the Church of God there is one fundamentall, but else variety. [The author's good meaning in this will better appear by his 98th Consideration of faith and good works.

The arguments of the author in this place on the 'Christian liberty' may be correctly explained as Herbert has in this note explained them. It may, however,

be questioned whether his language is not a little too obscure; so much so, indeed, that a hasty perusal of the chapter might lead those who were predisposed to such an inference to imagine that Valdesso had fallen into the grievous heresy which once led so many men astray in our own country, that even sins might be committed with impunity, and were not in fact sinful, when a man was once a member of the invisible Church of Christ, and justified by faith.]

To the 37 Consid. on these words :

‘That God is so delicate and sensitive,’ &c.

The Apostle saith that the wages of sinne is death, and therefore there is no sinne so small that merits not death, and that doth not provoke God, Who is a jealous God. [In the margin here, ‘This note is the French translator’s.’]

To the 46 Consid. on these words :

‘Exercise not thyself in anything pretending justification.’

He meaneth, I suppose, that a man presume not to merit, that is to oblige God or justify himselfe before God, by any acts or exercises of religion, but that he ought to pray God affectionately and fervently to send him the light of His Spirit, which may be unto him as the sunne to a traveller in his journey; hee in the meanwhile applying himselfe to the duties of true piety and sincere religion, such as are prayer, fast

ing, alms deeds, &c., after the example of devout Cornelius. [Or thus: there are two sorts of acts in religion, acts of humiliation and acts of confidence and joy: the person here described to be in the dark ought to use the first, and to forbear the second. Of the first sort are repentance, prayers, fasting, alms, mortifications, &c.; of the second, receiving of the Communion, praises, psalms, &c. These in divers cases ought, and were of old forborne for a time.

This note almost explains itself: in the text to which it refers the Spirit of God is described as gradually shedding its light upon the mind in the same manner as the sun breaks by degrees upon the eyes of a traveller in the dark.]

To the 49 Consid. on these words:

Remaining quiet when they perceive no motion, &c.

In indifferent things there is room for motions and expecting of them: but in things good, as to relieve my neighbour, God hath already revealed His will about it. Therefore wee ought to proceed, except there be a restraining motion, as S. Paul had when hee would have preached in Asia; and I conceive the restraining motions are much more frequent to the godly then inviting motions, because the Scripture invites enough: for it invites us to all good, according to that singular place, Phil. iv. 8. A man is to embrace all good; but because he cannot doe all, God often chuseth which he

shall doe, and that by restraining him from what He would not have him doe.

[The author in this place is speaking of motions communicated by the Spirit, either to do or to refrain from doing certain actions. Herbert's note explains his sentiments on that subject.]

To the same Consid. vpon these words :

'A man's free-will doth consist,' &c.

He meanes a man's free-will is only in outward, not in spirituall things.⁸

To the same Consid. on these words :

'Neither Pharaoh nor Judas, &c. could cease to be such.'

This doctrine, however true in substance, yet needeth discreet and wary explaining.

[The doctrine that bad men, such as Pharaoh, Judas, and other vessels of wrath, only fulfilled parts appointed to them by God, and could not be otherwise than what they were.]

To the 58 Consid. vpon the seventh difference.¹⁰

By occasions I suppose hee meaneth the ordinary or necessary duties and occasions of our calling and condition of life, and not those which are in themselves occasions of sinne, such as are all vain conversations ; for as for these, pious persons ought alwaies to avoid

them; but in those other occasions God's Spirit will mortify and try them as gold in the fire.

Page 199. 1616.

[The author speaks of human learning as insufficient to guide a man to the knowledge of the truth. Herbert's note explains itself.]

To the 59 Consid. vpon these words :

'And with doubtfulness I see He prayed in the garden.'

To say our Saviour prayed with doubtfulness, is more then I can or dare say; but with condition or conditionally He prayed as man, though as God He knew the event. Feare is given to Christ, but not doubt, and upon good ground.¹¹

To the 62 Consid.¹²

This chapter is considerable. The intent of it, that the world pierceeth not godly men's actions no more than God's, is in some sort true, because they are spiritually discerned (1 Cor. ii. 14). So likewise are the godly in some sort exempt from Lawes, for *Lex iusto non est posita*. But when he enlargeth them he goes too farre. For first concerning Abraham and Sara, I ever tooke that for a weaknesse in the great patriarch. And that the best of God's servants should have weakneses is no way repugnant to the way of God's Spirit in them, or to the Scriptures, or to themselves, being still men, though godly men. Nay they are purposely

recorded in Holy Writ. Wherefore, as David's adultery cannot be excused, so need not Abraham's equivocation, nor Paul's neither when he professed himselfe a Pharisee, which strictly he was not, though in the point of resurrection he agreed with them, and they with him. The reviling also of Ananias seemes, by his owne recalling, an oversight; yet I remember the Fathers forbid us to judge of the doubtfull actions of saints in Scriptures, which is a modest admonition. But it is one thing not to judge, another to defend them. Secondly, when he useth the word jurisdiction, allowing no jurisdiction over the godly, this cannot stand, and it is ill doctrine in a common-wealth. The godly are punishable as others when they doe amisse, and they are to be judged according to the outward fact, unlesse it be evident to others as well as to themselves that God moved them; for otherwise any malefactor may pretend motions, which is unsufferable in a common-wealth. Neither doe I doubt but if Abraham had lived in our kingdome under government, and had killed his sonne Isaac, but he might have been justly put to death for it by the magistrate, unlesse he could have made it appeare that it was done by God's immediate precept. He had done justly; and yet he had been punished justly, that is, *in humano foro et secularium presumptionem legalem* [according to the common and legal proceedings among men]. So may a warre be just on both sides, and was just in the Ca-

naamites and Israelites both. How the godly are exempt from laws is a known point among divines, but when he sayes they are equally exempt with God, that is dangerous and too faire. The best salve for the whole chapter is to distinguish judgment: there is a judgment of authority (upon a fact) and there is a judgment of the learned: for as a magistrate judgeth in his tribunall, so a scholar judgeth in his study, and censureth this or that: whence come so many books of severall men's opinions: perhaps he meant all of this later, not of the former. Worldly learned men cannot judg spirituall men's actions, but the magistrate may. [And surely this the author meant by the word jurisdiction, for so he useth the same word in Consideration 68 *ad pro m.*]

The 62nd Consideration treats of the dangerous and uselesse question how far saints are exempt from human law, laying down at the same time a position equally untenable in its full extent, that men have neither right nor ability to judge of those things which the holy men recorded in Scripture have done, contrary to human law. The note before us was penned by Herbert on quality and so called this *Consideration*.

For the 63 Consideration.

He that sayes that the lawe of the Scriptures is as milke of the Scriptures, as if it were but children's meat: whereas there is not onely milke there, but strong meat

also' (Heb. v. 14); 'things hard to bee understood' (2 Pet. iii. 16); 'things needing great consideration' (Mat. xxiv. 15). Besides, he opposeth the teaching of the Spirit to the teaching of the Scripture, which the Holy Spirit wrot. Although the Holy Spirit apply the Scripture, yet what the Scripture teacheth the Spirit teacheth, the Holy Spirit indeed some time doubly teaching, both in penning and in applying. I wonder how this opinion could befall so good a man as it seems Valdesso was, since the saints of God in all ages have ever held in so pretious esteem the Word of God, as their joy and crowne and their treasure on earth. Yet his owne practice seemes to confute his opinion; for the most of his Considerations being groundd upon some text of Scripture, shewes that he was continually conversant in it, and not used it for a time onely, and then cast it away, as he sayes strangely. There is no more to be said of this chapter, but that his opinion of the Scripture is unsufferable. As for the text of S. Pet. 2 Ep. i. 19, which he makes the ground of his Consideration, building it all upon the word untill the Day-starre arise, it is nothing. How many places doe the Fathers bring about 'until' against the heretiques who disputed against the virginity of the blessed Virgin out of that text (Mat. i. 25), where it is said Joseph 'knew her not *untill* shee had brought forth' her first borne Sonne, as if afterwards he had knowne her!—and indeed in common sence, if I bid a man stay in a place

untill I come, I doe not then bid him goe away, but rather stay longer, that I may speak with him or doe some thing else when I doe come. So S. Peter bidding the dispersed Hebrews attend to the word till the day dawn, doth not bid them then cast away the word, or leave it off; but, however, he would have them attend to it till that time, and then afterward they will attend it of themselves without his exhortation. Nay, it is observable that in that very place he prefers the word before the sight of the Transfiguration of Christ. So that the word hath the precedence even of revelations and visions. And so his whole discourse and sevenfold observation falls to the ground.

[In the 63rd Consideration Valdesso attempts to show, 'by seven conformities, that the Holy Scripture is like a candle in a dark place, and that the Holy Spirit is like the sunne;' in this showing that slight regard for Scripture with which Herbert charges him in the note before us.]

To the 65 Consid. on these words:

'Acknowledging the benefit received by Jesus Christ our Lord; like us it befits us even thirsty travellers, to whom,' &c.

This comparison is infinitely too base: there is none of the references which we have had with our Lord Jesus Christ, dissolved but infinitely perfected, and He will ever continue our glorious Head, and all the in-

fluences of our happinesse shall ever descend from Him, and our chief glory shall, as I conceive, consist in that which He saith amongst the last words that He spake in the xvii. John, 24, ‘Father, I will that they also whom Thou hast given Me bee with Me where I am, that they also may behold the glory which Thou hast given Me before the foundation of the world.’ [To which agreeth that which S. Paul writes (2 Thes. i. chap. 9).³³]

To the 69 Consider. upon these words :

‘S. Peter saith, as they lay to remove mountains.’

Divines hold that justifying faith and the faith of miracles are divers gifts, and of a different nature, the one being *gratia gratis data*, the other *gratia gratum faciens*—this being given only to the godly, and the other sometimes to the wicked. Yet doubtlesse the best faith in us is defective, and arrives not to the point it should, which, if it did, it would doe more then it does. And miracle-working, as it may be severed from justifying faith, so it may be a fruit of it, and an exaltation (1 John v. 14).

[This note is appended to the 69th Consideration, that all men, bearing in mind the faith to work miracles with which some have been endued, should always judge their own faith incomplete : and secondly, that their faith is always to be measured by their knowledge of God and Christ.]

[Though this were the author's opinion, yet the truth of it would be examined. The 98th Consideration, about being justified by faith or by good works, or condemned for unbelief or evil works, make plain the author's meaning.

The author in this place alludes briefly to the imputed merits of Christ, apparently as if they entirely superseded human virtue, and rendered it unnecessary. Herbert refers to the 98th Consideration to explain this apparent inconsistency.¹

[By the saints of the world he everywhere understands the cunning hypocrite, who by the world is counted a very saint for his outward show of holiness; and we meet with two sorts of these saints of the world: one whose holiness consists in a few ceremonies and superstitious observations; the other's in a zeal against these, and in a strict performance of a few cheap and easy duties of religion with no less superstition; both of them having forms or vizards of godliness, but denying the power thereof.

This note merely explains a term, 'saints of the world,' which Vablesse employ in the Consideration to which the note is attached.²

Page 354.

[Though this be the author's opinion, yet the truth of it would be examined. The 98th Consideration, about being justified by faith or by good works, or condemned for unbelief or evil works, make plain the author's meaning.

Herbert here repeats a note which he had attached to a previous passage. He again alludes to the same doctrine, qualifying it by a reference to a future Consideration.]

[To the 94 Consid.

By Hebrew piety he meaneth not the very ceremonies of the Jewes, which no Christian observes now, but an analogat¹⁶ observation of ecclesiasticall and canonicall lawes, superinduced to the Scriptures, like to that of the Jewes, which they added to their divine law. This being well weighed, will make the Consideration easy and very observeable; for at least some of the Papists are come now to what the Pharisees were come to in our Saviour's time.

This note is written to explain the term 'Hebrew piety,' and in no other way refers to the text of Valdesse.]

Page 355.

[This is true only of the Popish cases of conscience, which depend almost wholly on their canon law and decretals, knots of their own tying and untying; but

there are other cases of conscience, grounded on piety and morality, and the difficulty of applying their general rules to particular actions, which are a most noble crisis.

[Herbert here qualifies another statement of Valdesso, which would seem to confound the cases of conscience which the Romanists were so fond of framing with others which often arise in the bosoms of good men, and are founded on a regard to piety and morality.]



NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

¹ Heading: in 1616 the heading is 'Preface and Notes by George Herbert to the Divine Considerations, Treating of those things which are most Profitable, most Necessary, and most Perfect in our Christian Profession, by John Valdesso. Mr. G. Herbert to Master N. F. upon his Translation of Valdesso.'

² Date: in 1616 edition it is dated 'From Bemmerton near Salisbury, September 29, 1632.' By an inadvertence in the new translation of Valdesso by John T. Betts, along with Wiffen's 'Life and Writings' of Juan de Valdés (1865), the letter of Herbert is mis-dated '1637' (p. 199), and the notes are not given.

³ Heading: in 1616 the heading is simply, 'Notes to the Divine Considerations.' The whole of the notes on the 3d Consideration upon these words, 'Not for thy speech!' . . . Other law, &c.; to the 3d Consideration upon 'As they also mak' sake, &c.; to the 5th Consideration upon 'God regards not, &c.; and to the 6th Consideration 'The doctrine,' &c., are cut out in the 1616 edition without a word of explanation.

⁴ 'Not by relation;' in 1616 these words are dropped.

⁵ The additional remarks in Valdesso here and subsequently are from the 1616 edition, placed within brackets to distinguish from Herbert's own notes.

⁶ 'before's;' probably a misprint for 'before.' The words 'as I wrote before's' are left out in 1616, to conceal apparently the suppression therein of Herbert's note on the 3d Consideration.

⁷ 'bark;' usually misprinted 'backe.'

⁸ Besides verbal errors in 1616, the parenthetic clause in this note is omitted therein.

⁹ This note is altogether omitted in 1616 edition.

¹⁰ Again, besides verbal errors, the whole of this note is omitted in 1616 edition.

¹¹ Once more this note is omitted in 1616 edition.

¹² Various careless mistakes and omissions here in 1616 are corrected by return to 1638 edition.

¹³ The same remark applies to this note.

¹⁴ In the margin of 1638 here, 'This note is the French translation's.'

¹⁵ From this onward, 1616 edition first printed.

¹⁶ 'analogat' for 'analogous.'

G.

IV
A TREATISE
ON
TEMPERANCE AND SOBRIETIE.
BY LUD. CORNARUS.
TRANSLATED BY HERBERT.

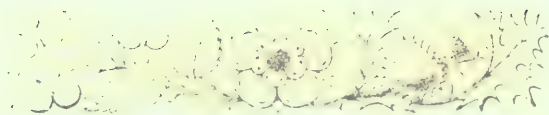
NOTE.

One text of the edition of Cornarus as translated by Herbert of 1636, his own orthography being restored and occasional verbal changes of modern reprints rectified. It may be noted here that this tractate of Cornarus was appended to the following (with separate pagination): ‘Hygiasticon; or the right Course of preserving Life and Health unto extreme old Age: together with soundnesse and integritie of the senses, judgment and memorie.’ Written in Latine by Leonard Lessius, and now done into English. The third edition. Printed by the printers to the Universitie of Cambridge, 1636’ (18mo). Appended again to Cornarus (with continuous pagination) is a ‘Discourse translated out of Italian that a spare Diet is better than a splendid and sumptuous: a Paradox.’ Prefixed to Lessius are various verse-addresses to the translator, including the vivid and memorable poem by Richard Crashaw; also verses by J. Jackson, Peter Gunning, A.R., S.J., and B. Oley, and anonymous. Oley’s being short may here find place:

‘Most likes I could not incorporate in thy praise,
To set thee with fixed words and surer laies;
But that thy power my verse, do both command
Me to keepe possession, and take off my hand.
Thou’st given words to be in words: the mouth may sin
In giving out as well as taking in. B. OLEY.’

In the preface ‘To the Reader’ there are these references to Herbert: ‘Master George Herbert of blessed memorie, having at the request of a noble personage translated it into English, sent a copy thereof, not many months before his death, unto some friends of his, who a good while before had given an attempt of regulating themselves in matter of diet; which, although it was after a very imperfect manner in regard of that exact course therein prescribed, yet it was of great advantage to them, inasmuch as they were enabled through the good preparation that they had thus made to go immediately to the practice of that pattern which Cornarus had set them, and so have reaped the benefit thereof in a larger and eminenter manner than could otherwise possibly have been imagined in so short a space.’ ‘Master Herbert professeth, and so it is indeed apparent, that he was enforced to leave out something out of Cornarus, which he thought necessary to be retained, in the subject of the book, but chiefly certain extravagant excursions of the author against the reformation of religion, which in his time was newly begun.’

G.



A TREATISE OF TEMPERANCE AND SOBRIETIE.

Written by *Luc. Cornarus* : translated into English by
Mr. George Herbert.

HAVING observed in my time many of my friends of excellent wit and noble disposition overthrown and undone by intemperance, who, if they had lived, would have been an ornament to the world and a comfort to their friends, I thought fit to discover in a short treatise that intemperance was not such an evil but it might easily be remedied; which I undertake the more willingly because divers worthy young men have obliged me unto it. For when they saw their parents and kindred snatcht away in the midst of their dayes, and me contrariwise, at the age of eightie and one, strong and lustie, they had a great desire to know the way of my life, and how I came to be so. Wherefore, that I may satisfie their honest desire, and withall help many others who will take this into consideration, I will declare the causes which moved me to forsake intemperance.

and live a sober life, expressing also the means which I have used therein. I say therefore, that the infirmities which did not onely begin, but had already gone farre in me, first caused me to leave intemperance, to which I was much addicted; for by it and my ill constitution (having a most cold and moist stomack) I fell into divers diseases, to wit, into the pain of the stomack, and often of the side, and the beginning of the gout, with almost a continuall fever and thirst.

From this ill temper there remained little else to be expected of me then that after many troubles and griefs I should quickly come to an end; whereas my life seemed as farre from it by nature as it was neare it by intemperance. When therefore I was thus affected from the thirtie-fifth yeare of my age to the fourtieth, having tried all remedies fruitlesly, the physicians told me that yet there was one help for me, if I could constantly pursue it, to wit, a sober and orderly life; for this had every way great force for the recovering and preserving of health, as a disorderly life to the overthrowing of it, as I too wel by experience found. For temperance preserves even old men and sickly men sound; but intemperance destroyes most healthy and flourishing constitutions; for contrarie causes have contrarie effects, and the faults of nature are often amended by art, as barren grounds are made fruitfull by good husbandry. They added withall, that unlesse I speedily used that remedy, within a few moneths I

should be driven to that exigent,¹ that there would be no help for me but death, shortly to be expected.

Upon this, weighing their reasons with my self, and abhorring² from so sudden an end, and finding my self continually oppressed with pain and sicknesse, I grew fully perswaded that all my griefs arose out of intemperance, and therefore, out of an hope of avoiding death and pain, I resolved to live a temperate life.

Whereupon, being directed by them in the way I ought to hold, I understood that the food I was to use was such as belonged to sickly constitutions, and that in a small quantitie. This they had told me before; but I then not liking that kind of diet, followed my appetite and did eat meats pleasing to my taste; and when I felt inward heats, drank delightfull wines, and that in great quantitie, telling my physicians nothing thereof, as is the custome of sick people. But after I had resolved to follow temperance and reason, and saw that it was no hard thing to do so, but the proper duty of man, I so addicted my self to this course of life, that I never went a foot out of the way. Upon this I found within a few dayes that I was exceedingly helped, and by continuance thereof within lesse then one yeare, although it may seem to some incredible, I was perfectly cured of all my infirmities.

Being now sound and well, I began to consider the race of temperance, and to think thus with my self: If temperance had so much power as to bring me

Health, how much more to preserve it ! Wherefore I began to search out most diligently what meats were agreeable unto me and what disagreeable ; and I purposed to try whether those that pleased my taste brought me commoditie or discommoditie ; and whether that proverb wherewith gluttons use to defend themselves, to wit, ' That which savours is good and nourisheth,' be consonant to truth. This upon triall I found most false ; for strong and very cool wines pleased my taste best, as also melons and other fruit ; in like manner, raw lettuce, fish, pork, sausages, pulse, and cake and pye-crust, and the like ; and yet all these I found hurtfull.

Therefore trusting on experience, I forsook all these kinde of meats and drinks, and chose that wine that fitted my stomack, and in such measure as easily might be digested ; above all, taking care never to rise with a full stomack, but so as I might well both eat and drink more. By this means, within lesse then a year I was not onely freed from all those evils which had so long beset me and were almost become incurable, but also afterwards I fell not into that yearly disease wherinto I was wont when I pleased my sense & appetite. Which benefits also still continue, because from the time that I was made whole I never since departed from my settled course of sobrietic, whose admirable power canth that the meat and drink that is taken without measure gives true strength to the bodie,

all superfluities passing away without difficultie, and no ill humours being ingendred in the body.

Yet with this diet I avoided other hurtfull things also, as too much heat and cold, wearinesse, watching, ill aire, overmuch use of the benefit of marriage: for although the power of health consists most in the proportion of meat and drink, yet these forenamed things have also their force. I preserved me also, as much as I could, from hatred and melancholie, and other perturbations of the minde, which have a great power over our constitutions. Yet could I not so avoid all these but now and then I fell into them: which gained me this experience—that I perceived that they had no great power to hurt those bodies which were kept in good order by a moderate diet: so that I can truly say, that they who in these two things that enter in at the mouth keep a fit proportion shall receive little hurt from other *excesses*.

This Galen confirms, when he saies that immoderate heats and colds, and windes and labours, did little hurt him, because in his meats and drinks he kept a due moderation, and therefore never was sick by any of these inconveniences, except it were for one onely day. But mine own experience confirmeth this more, as all that know me can testifie. For having endured many heats and colds and other like discommodities of weather, and labours, and windes, and other suchlike perturbations, and excesses, I have not been sick, nor have I

intemperately. For when my brother and others of my kindred saw some great powerfull men pick quarrels against me, fearing lest I should be overthrown, they were possessed with a deep melancholie (a thing usuall to disorderly lives), which increased so much in them, that it brought them to a sudden end: but I, whom that matter ought to have affected most, received no inconvenience thereby, because that humour abounded not in me.

Nay, I began to perswade my self that this suit and contention was raised by the Divine Providence, that I might know what great power a sober and temperate life hath over our bodies and mindes, and that at length I should be a conquerour, as also a little after it came to passe. For in the end I got the victorie, to my great honour and no lesse profit; whereupon also I joyed exceedingly, which excesse of joy neither could do me any hurt. By which it is manifest, that neither melancholie nor any other passion can hurt a temperate life.

Moreover, I say that even bruises and squats³ and falls, which often kill others, can bring little grief or hurt to those that are temperate. This I found by experience when I was seventie yeares old; for riding in a coach in great haste, it happened that the coach was overturned, and then was dragged for a good space by the fury of the horses, whereby my head and whole body was sore hurt, and also one of my arms and legs

put out of joynt. Being carried home, when the physicians saw in what case I was, they concluded that I would die within three dayes; neverthelesse, at a venture, two remedies might be used: letting of bloud and purging, that the store of humours and inflammation and fever which was certainly expected, might be binched.

But I, considering what an orderly life I had led for many yeares together, which must needs so temper the humours of the bodie that they could not be much troubled or make a great concourse, refused both remedies, and onely commanded that my arm and legges should be set and my whole bodie anointed with oyl; and so without other remedie or inconvenience I recovered, which seemed as a miracle to the physicians. Whence I conclude that they that live a temperate life can receive little hurt from other inconveniences.

But my experience taught me another thing also, to wit, that an orderly and regular life can hardly be altered without exceeding great danger.

About foure yeares since, I was led by the advice of physicians and the dayly importunitie of my friends to adde something to my usuall stint and measure. Divers reasons they brought, as that old age could not be sustained with so little meat and drink; which yet needs not onely to be sustained, but also to gather strength, which could not be but by meat and drink. On the other side, I argued that nature was contented

with a little, and that I had for many yeares continued in good health with that little measure, that custome was turned into nature, and therefore it was agreeable to reason that, my yeares increasing and strength decreasing, my stint of meat and drink should be diminished rather then increased, that the patient might be proportionable to the agent, and especially since the power of my stomach every day decreased. To this agreed two Italian proverbs, the one whereof was, ‘He that will eat much, let him eat little :’* because by eating little he prolongs his life. The other proverb was, ‘The meat which remaineth profits more then that which is eaten.’† By which is intimated that the hurt of too much meat is greater then the commoditie of meat taken in a moderate proportion.

But all these things could not defend me against their importunities. Therefore, to avoid obstinacie and gratifie my friends, at length I yeilded, and permitted the quantitie of meat to be increased, yet but two ounces onely ; for whereas before the measure of my whole daye’s meat, viz. of my bread and egges and flesh and broth, was twelve ounces exactly weighed, I increased it to the quantitie of two ounces more ; and

* Mangierà più, chi manco mangia. Ed e’ contrario,
Chi più mangia, manco mangia. Il senso è,
Poco vive chi troppo sparechia.

† Fa più pro quel che si lascia sul’ tondo, che
Quel che si mette nel ventre.

the measure of my drink, which before was foureteen ounces, I made now sixteen.

This addition after ten dayes wrought so much upon me, that of a cheerfull and merrie man I became melancholie and cholerick, so that all things were troublesome to me, neither did I know well what I did or said. On the twelfth day, a pain of the side took me, which held me two and twentie houres. Upon the neck of it came a terrible fever, which continued thirtie five dayes and nights, although after the fifteenth day it grew lesse and lesse. Besides all this, I could not sleep, no not a quarter of an houre: whereupon all gave me for dead.

Nevertheless I, by the grace of God, ended myself onely with returning to my former course of diet, although I was now seventie-eight yeares old, and my bodie spent with extream leannesse, and the season of the yeare was winter, and most cold aine. And I am confident that, under God, nothing helped me but that exact rule which I had so long continued. In all which time I felt no grief, save now and then a little indisposition for a day or two.

For the temperance of so many yeares spent all ill humours, and suffered not any new of that kinde to arise, neither the good humours to be corrupted, neither any ill qualities, as usually happen in old men's bodies which live without rule, for there is no moderation in their appetites, and they are not content

which commonly kills men; and that new one, which I contracted by breaking my diet, although it was a sore evil, yet had no power to kill me.

By this it may clearely be perceived how great is the power of order and disorder; whereof the one kept me well for many yeares; the other, though it was but a little excesse, in a few dayes had so soon overthrown me. If the world consist of order, if our corporall life depend on the harmonie of humours and elements, it is no wonder that order should preserve, and disorder destroy. Order makes arts easie, and armies victorious, and retains and confirms kingdomes, cities, and families in peace. Whence I conclude that an orderly life is the most sure way and ground of health and long dayes, and the true and onely medicine of many diseases.

Neither can any man denie this who will narrowly consider it. Hence it comes that a physician, when he cometh to visit his patient, prescribes this physick first, that he use a moderate diet; and when he hath cured him, commends this also to him, if he will live in health. Neither is it to be doubted but that he shall ever after live free from diseases if he will keep such a course of life, because this will cut off all causes of diseases, so that he shall need neither physick nor physician: yea, if he will give his minde to those things which he should, he will prove himself a physician, and that a very compleat one: for, indeed, no

man can be a perfect physician to another, but to himself onely. The reason whereof is this : every one by long experience may know the qualities of his own nature, and what hidden properties it hath, what meat and drink agrees best with it ; which things in others cannot be known without such observation as is not easily to be made upon others, especially since there is a greater diversitie of tempers then of faces. Who would believe that old wine should hurt my stomach, and new should help it ; or that cinnamon should heat me more than pepper ? What physician could have discovered these hidden qualities to me if I had not found them out by long experience ? Wherefore one to another cannot be a perfect physician. Whereupon I conclude, since none can have a better physician then himself, nor better physick then a temperate life, temperance by all means is to be embraced.

Neverthelesse, I denie not but that physicians are necessarie, and greatly to be esteemed for the knowing and curing of diseases, into which they often fall who live disorderly. For if a friend who visits thee in thy sickness, and onely comforts and consoles, doth performe his duty, how much more should he be esteemed, who not only as a friend doth visit thee, but help thee ?

But that a man may preserve himself in health, I advise that, instead of a physician, a regular life is to be embraced which, as is manifest by experience

is a natural physick most agreeable to us, and also doth preserve even ill tempers in good health, and procure that they prolong their life even to a hundred yeares and more, and that at length they shut up their dayes like a lamp, only by a pure consumption of the radicall moisture, without grief or perturbation of humours. Many have thought that this could be done by *aureum potabile*, or the philosopher's stone, sought of many and found of few. But surely there is no such matter if temperance be wanting.

But sensuall men (as most are), desiring to satisfie their appetite and pamper their belly, although they see themselves ill handled by their intemperance, yet shunne a sober life; because, they say, it is better to please the appetite, though they live ten years lesse then otherwise they should do, then alwayes to live under bit and bridle. But they consider not of how great moment ten yeares are in mature age, wherein wisdome and all kinde of vertues is most vigorous; which but in that age can hardly be perfected. And that I may say nothing of other things, are not almost all the learned books that we have written by their authours in that age and those ten yeares which they set at nought in regard of their belly?

Besides, these belly-gods say that an orderly life is so hard a thing that it cannot be kept. To this I answer that Galen kept it and held it for the best physick: so did Plato also, and Isocrates, and Tullie.

and many others of the ancient ; and in our age, Paul the third and Cardinal Bembo, who therefore lived so long : and among our dukes, Landus and Donatus, and many others of inferiour condition, not onely in the citie, but also in villages and hamlets.

Wherefore, since many have observed a regular life, both of old times and later yeares, it is no such thing which may not be performed ; especially since in observing it there needs not many and curious things, but onely that a man should begin, and by little and little accustome himself unto it.

Neither doth it hinder that Plato sayes that they who are employed in the common wealth cannot live regularly, because they must often endure heats and colds and windes and showers and divers labours which suit not with an orderly life : for I answer that those inconveniences are of no great moment, as I shewed before, if a man be temperate in meat and drink ; which is both easie for common-weald men, and very convenient, both that they may preserve themselves from diseases, which hinder publick employment, as also that their minde, in all things wherein they deal, may be more lively and vigorous.

But some may say he which lives a regular life, eating alwayes light meats and in a little quantitie, what diet shall he use in diseases, which being in health he hath anticipated ? I answer; first, Nature, which endeavours to preserve a man as much as she

can, teacheth us how to govern our selves in sicknesse ; for suddenly it takes away our appetite, so that we can eat but a very little, wherewith she is very well contented. So that a sick man, whether he hath lived heretofore orderly or disorderly, when he is sick, ought not to eat but such meats as are agreeable to his disease, and that in much smaller quantitie then when he was well. For if he should keep his former proportion, nature, which is already burdened with a disease, would be wholly oppressed. Secondly, I answer better—that he which lives a temperate life cannot fall into diseases, and but very seldome into indispositions ; because temperance takes away the causes of diseases ; and the cause being taken away, there is no place for the effect.

Wherefore, since an orderly life is so profitable, so vertuous, so decent, and so holy, it is worthy by all means to be embraced, especially since it is easie and most agreeable to the nature of man. No man that followes it is bound to eat and drink so little as I. No man is forbidden to eat fruit or fish which I eat not. For I eat little, because a little sufficeth my weak stomach ; and I abstain from fruit and fish and the like, because they hurt me. But they who finde benefit in these meats may, yea ought to use them ; yet all must take heed lest they take a greater quantitie of any meat or drink, though most agreeable to them, then their stomach can easily digest. So that he which is offended with no kinde of meat and drink

bath the quantitie and not the qualitie for his rule, which is very easie to be observed.

Let no man here object unto me, that there are many who, though they live disorderly, yet continue in health to their lives' end; because, since this is at the best but uncertain, dangerous, and very rare, the presuming upon it ought not to leade us to a disorderly life.

It is not the part of a wise man to expose himself to so many dangers of diseases and death, onely upon a hope of a happy issue, which yet befalls verie few. An old man of an ill constitution, but living orderly, is more sure of life then the most strong young man who lives disorderly.

But some, too much given to appetite, object that a long life is no such desirable thing, because that after one is once sixtie-five yeares old, all the time we live after is rather death then life. But these erre greatly, as I will shew by myself, recounting the delights and pleasures in this age of eightie-three which now I take, and which are such as that men generally account me happy.

I am continually in health, and I am so nimble that I can climb up any hill, without any help, the steepe of the ground, and sometimes I can goe up hills, and hills on foot. Then I am ever cheerful, merrie, and well contented, free from all troubles and troublesome thoughts; in whose place joy and peace have

taken up their standing in my heart. I am not wearie of life, which I passe with great delight. I conferre often with worthie men, excellling in wit, learning, behaviour, and other vertues. When I cannot have their companie I give myself to the reading of some learned book, and afterwards to writing; making it my aim in all things how I may help others to the furthest of my power.

All these things I do at my ease, and at fit seasons, and in mine own houses; which, besides that they are in the fairest place of this learned city of Padua, are verie beautifull and convenient above most in this age, being so built by me according to the rules of architecture, that they are cool in summer and warm in winter.

I enjoy also my gardens, and those divers parted with rills of running water, which truly is very delightfull. Some times of the yeare I enjoy the pleasure of the Euganean hills, where also I have fountains and gardens, and a very convenient house. At other times I repair to a village of mine seated in the valley; which is therefore very pleasant, because many wayes thither are so ordered that they all meet and end in a fair plot of ground, in the midst whereof is a church suitable to the condition of the place. This place is washed with the river of Brenta, on both sides whereof are great and fruitfull fields, well manured and adorned with many habitations. In former time it

the place is now so happy, that it is almost too healthy, fitter for beasts than men. But I drained the ground, and made the aire good; whereupon men flockt thither and built houses with happy successe. By this means the place is come to that perfection we now see it is; so that I can truly say that I have both given God a temple, and made to worship Him in it. The memorie whereof is exceeding delightful to me.

Sometimes I ride to some of the nobilitie civities, that I may enjoy the sight and commendation of my exploits; as also of excellent architecture, and literature, painting, stonecutting, musick, and husbandrie, whereof in this age there is great plenty. I view their pieces; I compare them with those of antiquitie; and ever I learn somewhat which is worthy of my knowledge; I survey palaces, gardens, and antiquities, publick fabricks, temples, and fortification; neither omit I any thing that may either teach or delight me. I am much pleased also in my travells with the beauty of situation. Neither is this my pleasure made lesse by the pleasing dulnesse of my senses, which are all so much corrupted by the pleasures of the city.

When I have done this, I returne home, where I am received with great honour, and I am desired to shew all the exploits that I could do.

To change my bed-trundle is not I thinke worthy of a private travell, nor my measures are so great,

pleasant. But this chiefly delights me, that my advice hath taken effect in the reducing of many rude and untailed places in my countrey to cultivation and good husbandrie. I was one of those that was deputed for the managing of that work, and abode in those fenny places two whole moneths in the heat of summer (which in Italie is very great), receiving not any hurt or inconvenience thereby; so great is the power and efficacy of that temperance which ever accompanied me.

These are the delights and solaces of my old age, which is altogether to be preferred before others' youth, because that by temperance and the grace of God I feel not those perturbations of bodie and minde wherewith infinite both young and old are afflicted.

Moreover, by this also in what estate I am may be discovered, because at these yeares, viz. 83, I have made a most pleasant comedie, full of honest wit and merriment; which kinde of poems useth to be the childe of youth, which it most suits withall for variety and pleasantnesse, as a tragedie with old age, by reason of the sad events which it contains. And if a Greek poet of old was praised, that at the age of 73 yeares he writ a tragedie, why should I be accounted lesse happie or lesse my self, who, being ten yeares older, have made a comedie?

Now, lest there should be any delight wanting to my old age, I daily behold a kinde of immortalitie in

the succession of my posteritie. For when I come home, I finde eleven grandchildren of mine, all the sonnes of one father and mother, all in perfect health, all, as farre as I can conjecture, very apt and well given both for learning and behaviour. I am delighted with their musick and fashion, and I my self also sing often, because I have now a clearer voice then ever I had in my life.

By which it is evident that the life which I live at this age is not a dead, dumpish, and sowre life, but cheerfull, lively, and pleasant. Neither, if I had my wish, would I change age and constitution with them who follow their youthfull appetites, although they be of a most strong temper, because such are daily exposed to a thousand dangers and deaths, as daily experience sheweth, and I also, when I was a young man, too well found. I know how inconsiderate that age is, and though subject to death, yet continually afraid of it; for death to all young men is a terrible thing, as also to those that live in sinne and follow their appetites; whereas I, by the experience of so many yeares, have learned to give way to reason; whence it seems to me not onely a shamefull thing to fear that which cannot be avoided, but also I hope, when I shall come to that point, I shall finde no little comfort in the favour of Jesus Christ. Yet I am sure that my end is farr from me; for I know that, setting casualties aside, I shall not die but by a pure resolu-

tion,* because that by the regularitie of my life I have shut out death all other wayes, and that is a fair and desirable death which nature brings by way of resolution.

Since, therefore, a temperate life is so happie and pleasant a thing, what remains but that I should wish all who have the care of themselves to embrace it with open arms?

Many things more might be said in commendation hereof; but lest in anything I forsake that temperance which I have found so good, I here make an end (pp. 146).

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

- * 'Exigent': see Glossarial Index, *s.v.*
- * 'Abhorring from' = great aversion.
- * 'Squats' = a sudden or crushing fall.
- * 'Help' = helped.
- * 'Spent' = passed, consumed.
- * 'Manured' = cultivated.
- * 'Untoiled' = untilled, uncultivated.
- * 'Resolution' = our dissolution or natural separation. Cornaro (or Cornaro), born in 1467, actually lived on to well nigh his 100th year: died April 26, 1566. G.



FACULA PRUDENTUM

NOTES.

The first edition of the Proverbs bore the following title-page :

OUTLANDISH

PROVERBS

OF THE EAST.

By Mr. G. H.

London,

Printed by T. P. for *Humphrey*

Benson, at the *Girdle*

Gravel. 1649.

Title-page and A2-p2 = 35 leaves 12mo. The second edition is as follows :

JACULA

PRUDENTUM

OF

Outlandish

PROVERBS,

SENTENCES, &c.

OF THE EAST.

By Mr. George Herbert

OF

Outlandish and *West*

OF

THE EAST.

Printed by *J. May* for T. Garthwait, at the

Gate North door of St. Pauls. 1654.

of the Proverbs; but Professor Mayor, with characteristic fulness of authority and point, set aside the objections (*ibid.* pp. 130-1). Mr. Yeowell made much of the erasure of the initials G. H. in the Bodleian copy. That is of no weight, seeing that under whatever circumstances a G. H. must have been the collector. Moreover the Bodleian catalogue is no authority at all—rather the reverse—on authorship of its treasures, as every worker in our old literature finds.

Let the critical reader compare the Glossarial Index to the Poems (especially 'The Church Porch') with that to the Prose, and he will find Herbert's favourite and peculiar and peculiarly used words and turns in the 'Proverbs,' so as to place their genuineness as his collection and largely his own composition beyond doubt. In the 'Priest to the Temple' (chaps. iv, v, xi, and xxxiii.) Herbert inculcated on the 'Countrey Parson' that he shall interest himself in rustic usages, ways of thinking, and speaking. It may be well to record that in the Middle Hill ms. (as above) the Proverbs are thus associated: 'A large book of stories with outlandish proverbs at the end, englished by Mr. George Herbert: in all 163 proverbs. One story-book begins with: 'The chief care of parents ought to be the good education of children.' ii. Examples of good children. This is the story-book with Proverbs. [J. J.]' (Professor Mayor's Ferrar, as before, pp. 302-3). Surely this describes a yet unrecovered ms. containing 'stories . . . englished' by Herbert? It must be hidden away somewhere, and its recovery is much to be wished.

With reference to the original title, 'Outlandish Proverbs,' it is noticeable that Herbert in 'A Priest to the Temple' (cp. 162) says that the Country Parson doth bear in mind in the morning 'the *outlandish* proverb, that prayers and provender never hinder journey;' and also in one of his letters to his brother Henry writes thus: 'Take this rule, and it is an *outlandish* one, which I commend to you as being now a fatter: "The best bred child hath the best portion"' (see Letters in the present volume). The word and the proverb come quite naturally to him, and incidentally further confirm the authorship.



JACULA PRUDENTUM.

- { 100 men go to death; death comes to young men.
1. Man proposeth, God disposeth.
2. Hee begins to die that quits his desires.
3. A handfull of good life is better then a bushell
of learning.
4. He that studies his content wants it.
5. Every day brings his bread with it.
6. Humble hearts have humble desires.
7. Hee that stumbles and falls not, mends his pace.
8. The house shews the owner.
9. He that gets out of debt grows rich.
10. All is well with him who is beloved of his
neighbours.
11. Building and marrying of children are great
wasters.
12. A good name is better then riches.
13. The scalded dog feares cold water.
14. Pleasing wares are halfe sold.
15. Light burthens long borne growe heauey.
16. The wolf knows what the ill beast thinks.
17. Who hath more to still him may weep out his

33. A covetous man will be old: covetousnesse
 34. will make him lame.

35. If yee would know a knave give him a staffe.
36. You cannot know wine by the barrell.
37. A coole mouth and warme feet live long.
38. A horse made, and a man to make.
39. Looke not for muske in a dogge's kennell.
40. Not a long day, but a good heart, rids worke.
41. He peels with a long rope that waights for an
 other's death.
42. Great strokes make not sweete musick.
43. A easke and an ill custome must be broken.
44. A fat housekeeper makes leane executors.
45. Empty chambers make foolish maides.
46. The gentle hawke halfe mans her selfe.
47. The devill is not alwaies at one doere.
48. When a friend asks, there is no to morrow.
49. God sends cold according to cloathes.
50. One sound blow wil serve to undo us all.
51. He looseth nothing that looseth not God.
52. The German's wit is in his fingers.
53. At dinner my man appeares.
54. Who gives to all denies all.
55. Quick believers neede broad shoulders.
56. Who remove stones bruise their fingers.
57. Benefits please like flowers while they are to be
 seen.
58. Between the businesse of life and the day of death
 there is but a short interposed tyme.

63. If all fooles had bables² wee should want fuell.
64. Vertue never growes old.
65. Evening words are not like to morning.
66. Were there no fooles, badd ware would not
 be so.
67. Never had ill workeman good tooles.
68. Hee stands not surely that never slips.
69. Were there no hearers there would be no back
 biters.
70. Every thing is of use to a houskeeper.
71. When prayers are done my lady is ready.
 [Cities seldome change religion only.]
72. At length the fox turnes monk.
73. Flies are busiest about leane horses.
74. Hearken to Reason, or shee will bee heard.
75. The bird loves her nest.
76. Every thing new, is fine.
77. When a dog is a-drowning every one offers him
 drink.
78. Better a bare foot then none.
79. Who is so deafe as he that will not heare?
80. He that is warme thinkes all so.
81. At length the fox is brought to the furrier.
82. Hee that goes barefoot must not plant thornes.
83. They that are booted are not alwaies ready.
84. He that will learne to pray let him go to sea.
85. In spending, lies the advantage.
86. He that lives well is learned enough.

87. Ill comes the shew-bread of a king.
88. A full belly neither fights nor flies well.
89. All truths are not to be told.
90. An old wise man's shadblow is better than a young buzzard's sword.
91. Noble housekeepers neede no dores.
92. Every ill man hath his ill day.
93. Sleepe without supping, and wake without wine.
94. I gave the mouse a hole, and she is become my foe.
95. Assaile who will, the valiant attends.
96. Whither goest, griefe? Where I am went.
97. Praise day at night and life at the end.
98. Whither shall the ox goe where he shall not labour?
99. Where you thinke there is bacon there chimney.
100. Mend your clothes, and you may hold out yet longer.
101. Presse a stick and it seemes a youth.
102. The tongue walkes where the teeth specke not.
103. A faire wife and a fronted castle breede quarrels.
104. Leave jesting whiles it pleaseth, lest it turne to earnest.
105. Deceive not thy play-fellow, confessor, nor law-ye.

126. The more you aske them the more they stick.

127. Vertue and a trade are the best portion for children.

128. The chicken is the countrie's, but the city eateth it.

129. He that gives thee a capon give him the leg and the wing.

130. Hee that lives ill, feare followes him.

131. Give a clowne your finger and he will take it hold.

132. Good is to bee sought out, and evill attended.

133. A good paymaster starts not at assurances.

134. No alchymy to saving.

135. To a gratefull man give mony when he asks.

136. Who would doe ill ne're wants occasion.

137. To fine folkes, a little ill finely wrapt.

138. A child correct behind and not before.

139. To a faire day open the window, but make you ready as to a foule.

140. Keepe good men company, and you shall be of the number.

141. No love to a father's.

142. The mill gets by going.

143. To a boyling pot flies come not.

144. Make hast to an ill way, that you may get out of it.

145. A new yeare a rich yeare.

145. Good is the morat̃ that makes all sure.
146. Play with a foole at home, and he will play
with you in the market.
147. Every one stretcheth his legges according to
his coverlet.
148. Autumnall agues are long or mortall.
149. Marry your sone when you will, your daughter
when you can.
150. Dally not with mony or women.
151. Men speake of the Faire as things went with
them there.
152. The best remedy against an ill man is much
ground betweene both.
153. The mill cannot grind with water that's past.
154. Corn is cleaned with winde, and the soule with
chastnings.
155. Good words are worth much, and cost little.
156. To buy deare is not bounty.
157. Jest not with the eye or with religion.
158. The eye and religion can beare no jesting.
159. Without favour none will know you, and with
it you will not know yourselfe.
160. Buy at a Faire, but sell at home.
161. Cover yourselfe with your shield, and care
not for eyes.
162. A wicked man's gift hath a touch of his
master.
163. None is a foole alwaies, every one sometimes.

164. From a chollerick man withdraw a little ;
from him that saies nothing, for ever.

165. Debtors are lyers.

166. Of all smells, bread ; of all tastes, salt.

167. He that is never in a pinch is not rich, but take
heede lest you be drowned.

168. Ever since we weare cloathes we know not
one another.

169. God heales, and the physitian hath the
thankes.

170. He that calls a dog a dog, and worke him

171. Take heed of the words of the people's pro-
ty.

172. After the house is finisht leave it.

173. Our owne actions are our security, not others'
clements.

174. Thinke of ease, but worke on.

175. Hee that lies long a bed his estate feels it.

176. Whether you be rich or poore, if you be
have but water of it.

177. One stroke feels not an oxe.

178. God complaines not, but doth what is fitting.

179. A diligent scholler, and the master's paid.

180. Milke sties to wine, 'Welcome, friend.'

181. They that know one another salute afarre off.

182. Where there is no heaven there is no gride.

183. When a man is in a good way, he

184. He that staies does the businesse.
185. Almes never make poore. Others :^o
186. Great almesgiving lessens no man's living.
187. Giving much to the poore doth inrich a man's
store.
188. It takes much from the account to which his
sin doth amount.
189. It adds to the glory both of soule and body.
190. Ill comes in by ells and goes out by inches.
191. The smith and his penny both are black.
192. Whose house is of glasse must not throw
stones at another.
193. If the old dog barke he gives counsell.
194. The tree that growes slowly keeps itselfe for
another.
195. I wept when I was borne, and every day
shewes why.
196. Hee that lookes not before findshimself behind.
197. He that plaies his mony ought not to value it.
198. He that riseth first is first drest.
199. Diseases of the eye are to bee cured with the
elbow.
200. The hole calls the thiefe.
201. A gentleman's grayhound and a salt-box, seeke
them at the fire.
202. A child's service is little, yet hee is no little
foole that despiseth it.
203. The river past, and God forgotten.

204. Evils have their comfort: and none can support (to wit) with a moderate and contented heart.

205. Who must account for himselfe and other must know both.

206. Hee that eats the hard shall eate the ripe.

207. The miserable man maketh a peny of a thing, and the liberall of a farthing sixepence.

208. The honey is sweet, but the bee stings.

209. Waight and measure take away strife.

210. The some full and tattered, the daughter of pty and fine.

211. Every path hath a puddle.

212. In good yeares come is hay, in ill yeares straw is come.

213. Send a wise man on an errand, and say nothing unto him.

214. In life you lov'd me not, in death you bewaile me.

215. Into a month shut flies the net.

216. The heart's better is read in the eyes.

217. The ill that comes out of our mouth fallies to our bosome.

218. The tongue is a little flower, but it maketh great matters.

219. In the house of a ruler all fiddles.

220. Sometimes the best time is to lose.

221. Working and making a fine doth debase.

222. One graine fills not a sacke, but helps his fellowes.

223. It is a great victory that comes without blood.

224. In war, hunting, and love, men for one pleasure a thousand griefes prove.

225. Reckon right, and February hath one and thirty daies.

226. Honour without profit is a ring on the finger.

227. Estate in two parishes is bread in two wallets.

228. Honour and profit lie not in one sacke.

229. A naughty child is better sick then whole.

230. Truth and oyle are ever above.

231. He that riseth betimes hath something in his head.

232. Advise none to marry or goe to warre.

233. To steale the hog and give the feet for almes.

234. The thorne comes forth with his point forwards.

235. One hand washeth another, and both the face.

236. The fault of the horse is put on the saddle.

237. The corne hides itself in the snow as an old man in furs.

238. The Jewes spend at Easter, the Mores¹⁰ at marriages, the Christians in sutes.

239. Fine dressing is a foule house swept before the doores.

240. A woman and a glasse are ever in danger.

241. An ill wound is cured, not an ill name.

242. I was hard tother and drith that thou shold
 be with þe lady.

243. Owe othere, I knowe, I have to do.

244. Knowe I have to do, I have to do.

245. Punishment is lene, but it comes.

246. The more women looke in their glasse, the
 lesse they looke to their house.

247. A long tongue is a signe of a short hand.

248. Marry a widow before she leve mourning.

249. The worst of law is that one suit breeds
 twenty.

250. Providence is better then a rent.

251. What your glasse telles you will not be told
 by counsell.

252. I am no more than a woman, I am no more.

253. A foolo knowe that he is a fool, but a wise man
 nought of that.

254. I had rather be a woman, than a man, for I
 am a woman, and a man is a man.

255. I had rather be a woman, than a man, for I
 am a woman, and a man is a man.

256. I had rather be a woman, than a man, for I
 am a woman, and a man is a man.

257. I had rather be a woman, than a man, for I
 am a woman, and a man is a man.

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 am a woman, and a man is a man.

261. I had rather be a woman, than a man, for I
 am a woman, and a man is a man.

262. I had rather be a woman, than a man, for I
 am a woman, and a man is a man.

260. An ill agreement is better then a good judgement.

261. There is more talke then trouble.

262. Better spare to have of thine own then aske of other men.

263. Better good afarre off then evill at hand.

264. Feare keeps the garden better then the gardiner.

265. I had rather aske of my fire browne bread then borrow of my neighbour white.

266. Your pot broken seemes better then my whole one.

267. Let an ill man lie in thy straw, and he lookes to be thy heire.

268. By suppers more have beene killed then Gallen ever cured.

269. While the discret advise, the foole doth his busines.

270. A mountaine and a river are good neighbours.

271. Gossips are frogs, they drinke and talke.

272. Much spends the traveller more then the abider.

273. Prayers and provender hinder no journey.

274. A well bred youth neither speakes of him self, nor, being spoken to, is silent.

275. A journeying woman speakes much of all, and all of her.

294. A man's discontent is his worst evill.

295. Feare nothing but sinne.

296. Hee shall see nothing but what it heard by
the fire.

297. Call me not an olive till thou see me
thereof.

298. That is not good language which all under-
stand not.

299. He that burnes his house warnes himselfe for
once.

300. He will burne his house to warme his hands.

301. Hee will spend a whole yeare's rent at one
meale's meate.

302. All is not gold that glisters.

303. A blustering night, a faire day.

304. Be not idle, and you shall not bee longing.

305. He is not poore that hath little, but he that
wasteth much.

306. Let none say I will not drinke water.

307. Hee wrongs not an old man that steales his
supper from him.

308. The tongue talkes at the head's cost.

309. Hee that strikes with his tongue must ward
with his head.

310. Keep not ill men company, lest you increase
the number.

311. God strikes not with both hands, for to the
one He maketh favours, and to rivers: floods.

333. Pull downe your hatt on the wind's side.
334. As the yeere is, your pot must seeth.
332. Since you know all and I nothing, tell me
what I dreamed last night.
333. When the foxe preacheth, beware geese.
334. When you are an anvill, hold you still ; when
you are a hammer, strike your fill.
335. Poore and liberall, rich and covetous.
336. He that makes his bed ill, lies there.
337. Hee that labours and thrives, spins gold.
338. He that sows trusts in God.
339. Hee that lies with the dogs riseth with fleas.
340. He that repaires not a part, builds all.
341. A discontented man knowes not where to sit
easie.
342. Who spits against heaven, it falls in his
face.
343. He that dines and leaves layes the cloth twice.
344. Who eates his cock alone must saddle his
horse alone.
345. He that is not handsome at twenty, nor strong
at thirty, nor rich at forty, nor wise at fifty, will never
bee handsome, strong, rich, or wise.
346. Hee that doth what he will doth not what he
ought.
347. Hee that will deceive the fox must rise be-
times.
348. He that lives well sees afarre off.

349. He that hath a mouth of his owne must not
say to another, 'Blow.'

350. He that will be serued must bee patient.

351. He that gives thee a bone would not haue
thee die.

352. He that chastens one chastens twenty.

353. He that hath lost his credit is dead to the
world.

354. He that hath no ill fortune is troubled with
it.

355. He that is a good man is a good man
to all.

356. He that is a good man is a good man
to all.

357. He that takes not up a pin lights his wife.

358. He that owes nothing, if he makes not request
at us, is courteous.

359. Hee that looseth his due gets not thanks.

360. He that beleeveth all misseeth; hee that be-
leeveth nothing hits not.

361. Pardons and pleasantnesse are great revenges
of slanders.

362. A married man turns his staffe into a stake.

363. If you would know secrets, looke them in
the eye of pleasure.

364. Serve a noble man, and you shall have
a noble reward.

365. A good man is a good man to all.

366. If folly were griefe, every house would weepe.
367. Hee that would bee well old must bee old
betimes.

368. Sit in your place, and none can make you
rise.

369. If you could runne as you drinke, you might
catch a hare.

370. Would you know what mony is, go borrow
some.

371. The morning sunne never lasts a day.

372. Thou hast death in thy house, and dost be-
waile another's.

373. All griefes with bread are lesse.

374. All things require skill but an appetite.

375. All things have their place, knew wee how to
place them.

376. Little pitchers have wide eares.

377. We are fooles one to another.

378. This world is nothing except it tend to an-
other.

379. There are three waies—the vniversities, the
sea, the court.

380. God comes to see without a bell.

381. Life without a friend is death without a
witnesser.

382. Cleath thee in warre, am thee in peace.

383. The horse thinkes one thing, and he that
ride him another.

407. He that sings on Friday will weepe on Sunday.

408. The charges of building and making of gardens are unknowne.

409. My house, my house, though thou art small, thou art to me the Esecuriall.¹²

410. A hundred loades of thought will not pay one of debts.

411. Hee that comes of a hen must scrape.

412. He that seekes trouble never misses.

413. He that once deceives is ever suspected.

414. Being on sea, saile ; being on land, settle.

415. Who doth his owne businesse foules not his hands.

416. Hee that makes a good warre makes a good peace.

417. He that workes after his owne manner, his head akes not at the matter.

418. Who hath bitter in his mouth spits not all sweet.

419. He that hath children, all his morsels are not his owne.

420. He that hath the spiee may season as he list.

421. He that hath a head of waxe must not walke with a cane.

422. He that hath love in his brest hath spaine for a bed.

423. He that respects not is not respected.

424. Hee that hath a fox for his mate hath neede
of a net at his girdle.

425. Hee that hath right, feares; he that hath
wrong, hopes.

426. Hee that hath patience hath fit thrushes for
a farthing.

427. Never was strumpet tame.

428. He that measures not himselfe is measured.

429. Hee that hath one hogge makes him fat; and
hee that hath one son makes him a foole.

430. Who lets his wife goe to every feast, and his
children to every game, shall have his house full
of sorrow.

431. He that is full of anger shall be full of sinne,
and shall be hated.

432. He that is full of sinne shall be hated.

433. He that lives most dies most.

434. He that hath one foot in the straw hath an
other in the Spittell.

435. He that's fed at another's hand may stay
long ere he be full.

436. Hee that makes a thing to come breakes it.

437. Hee that bewailes himselfe hath the cure
in his hands.

438. He that is full of sinne shall be full of
owe he loves.

439. Cornell breakes not the head.

440. Fly the pleasure that lyes to shame.

441. Hee that knowes what may bee gained in a day never steales.

442. Mony refused looseth its brightnesse.

443. Health and mony goe far.

444. Where your will is ready your feete are light.

445. A great ship askes deepe waters.

446. Woe to the house where there is no chiding.

447. Take heede of the viniger of sweet wine.

448. Fooles bite one another, but wise men agree together.

449. Trust not one night's ice.

450. Good is good, but better carries it.

451. To gaine teacheth how to spend.

452. Good finds good.

453. The dog gnawes the bone because he cannot swallow it.

454. The crow bewailes the sheepe, and then eates it.

455. Building is a sweet impoverishing.

456. The first degree of folly is to hold one's selfe wise, the second to professe it, the third to despise counsell.

457. The greatest step is that out of doores.

458. To weepe for joy is a kinde of manna.

459. The first service a child doth his father is to make him foolish.

460. The resolved minde hath no cares.

461. In the kingdome of a cheater the wallet is carried before.

462. The eye will have his part.

463. The good mother sayes not, ' Will you ? ' but gives.

464. A house and a woman sute excellently.

465. In the kingdome of blind men the one-ey'd is king.

466. A little kitchin makes a large house.

467. Warre makes theeves, and peace hangs them.

468. Poverty is the mother of health.

469. In the morning mountaines, in the evening
they abide.

470. The back-doope robs the house.

471. Wealth is like rheume, it falles on the weakest parts.

472. The gowne is his that weares it, and the world his that enjoyes it.

473. Hope is the poore man's bread.

474. Vertue now is in herbs, and stones, and words
ch.

475. Fine words dresse ill deedes.

476. Labour as long-liv'd, pray as even dying.

477. A poore beauty finds more lovers then his
hande.

478. Discreet women have neither eyes nor cares.

479. Things well nited abide.

480. Prettinesse dies first.

481. Talking payes no toll.
482. The master's eye fattens the horse, and his
foote the ground.
483. Disgraces are like cherries, one drawes another.
484. Praise a hill, but keepe below.
485. Praise the sea, but keepe on land.
486. In chusing a wife and buying a sword we
ought not to trust another.
487. The wearer knowes where the shoe wrings.¹¹
488. Faire is not faire, but that which pleaseth.
489. There is no jollitie but hath a smack of folly.
490. He that's long a-giving knowes not how to
give.
491. The filth under the white snow the sunne
discovers.
492. Every one fastens where there is gaine.
493. All feete tread not in one shoe.
494. Patience, time, and money accommodate all
things.
495. For want of a naile the shoe is lost, for want
of a shoe the horse is lost, for want of a horse the
rider is lost.
496. Weigh¹² justly and sell dearely.
497. Little wealth, little care.
498. Little journeys and good rest bring safe home.
499. Gluttony kills more then the sword.
500. When children stand quiet they have done
enough.

501. A little and good fills the trencher.
502. A penny spar'd is twice got.
503. When a knave is in a plum-tree he hath
neither friend nor kin.
504. Short boughs, long vintage.
505. Health without money is halfe an ague.
506. If the wise erred not, it would goe hard with
the fool.
507. Beare with evill, and expect good.
508. He that tells a secret is another's servant.
509. If all fooles were white caps, wee should
seeke a flock of geese.
510. Water, fire, and souldiers quickly make roome.
511. Pension never enriched young man.
512. Under water famine, under snow bread.
513. The lame goes as farre as your staggerer.
514. He that looseth is marchant as well as he
that getteth.
515. A jabelet eates as much as a good horse.
516. All things in their being are good for some
thing.
517. One flower makes no garland.
518. A faire death honours the whole life.
519. One enemy is too much.
520. Laying well is the best revenge.
521. One roole makes a hundred.
522. One paine of eares drawes dry a hundred
tongues.

523. A foole may throw a stone into a well, which
hundred wise men cannot pull out.
524. One slumber finds another.
525. On a good bargaine thinke twice.
526. To a good spender God is the treasurer.
527. A curst cow hath short hornes.
528. Musick helps not the tooth-ach.
529. We cannot come to honour under coverlet.
530. Great paines quickly find ease.
531. To the counsell of fooles a wooden bell.
532. The cholerick man never wants wee.
533. Helpe thyselfe, and God will helpe thee.
534. At the game's end we shall see who gaines.
535. There are many waies to fame.
536. Love is the true price of love.
537. Love rules his kingdome without a sword.
538. Love makes all hard hearts gentle.
539. Love makes a good eye squint.
540. Love askes faith, and faith firmenesse.
541. A scepter is one thing, and a ladle another.
542. Great trees are good for nothing but shade.
543. Hee commands enough that obeys a wise man.
544. Faire words makes mee look to my purse.
545. Though the fox run the chicken hath wings.
546. He plaies well that winnes.
547. You must strike in measure when there are
many to strike on one anyle.
548. The shortest answer is, doing.

549. It's a poor stake that cannot stand one yeare
in the ground.

550. He that commits a fault thinks every one
speakes of it.

551. He that's foolish in the fault let him be wise
in the punishment.

552. The blind eate many a lie.

553. He that can make a fire well can end a quar-
rell.

554. The tooth-ach is more ease then to deale with
ill people.

555. Hee that should have what hee hath not
should doe what he doth not.

556. He that hath no good trade it is to his losse.

557. The offender never pardons.

558. He that lives not well one yeare sorrowes
even after.

559. He that hopes not for good teares not exill.

560. He that is angry at a feast is rude.

561. He that mockes a cripple ought to be whole.

562. When the tree is fallen all goe with the
hatchet.

563. He that hath hornes in his bosom let him
not put them on his head.

564. He that burnes most shines most.

565. He that is a good man is a good man.

566. He that is a good man is a good man.

567. He that is a good man is a good man.

567. Bells call others, but themselves enter not
into the church.

568. Of faire things the autumne is faire.

569. Giving is dead, restoring very sieke.

570. A gift much expected is paid, not given.

571. Two ill meales make the third a glutton.

572. The royall crowne cures not the head-ache.

573. 'Tis hard to be wretched, but worse to be
knowne so.

574. A feather in hand is better then a bird in the
net.

575. It's better to be head of a lyzard then the
tayle of a lyon.

576. Good and quickly seldome meete.

577. Folly growes without watering.

578. Happier are the hands compast with yron
then a heart with thoughts.

579. If the staffe be crooked the shadow cannot
be straight.

580. To take the nuts from the fire with the dogge's
foot.

581. He is a foole that makes a wedge of his fist.

582. Valour that parlies is neare yeelding.

583. Thursday come and the week's gone.

584. A flatterer's throat is an open sepulcher.

585. There is great force hidden in a sweet con-
currence.

586. The command of custome is great.

587. To have money is a feare, not to have it a
pénurie.

588. The catt sees not the mouse ever.

589. Little dogs start the hare, the great get her.

590. Willowes are weak, yet they bind other
wood.

591. A good prayer¹⁷ is master of Another's purse.

592. The thread breakes where it is weakest.

593. Old men, when they scorne young, make
much of death.

594. God is at the end when we thinke He is fur-
thest off it.

595. A good judge conceives quickly, judges
slowly.

596. Rivers neede a spring.

597. He that contemplates hath a day without
night.

598. Give losers leave to talke.

599. Losse embraceth shame.

600. Gaming, women, and wine, while they laugh,
they make men pine.

601. The fatt man knoweth not what the leane
suffereth.

602. Wood halfe burnt is easily kindled.

603. The fish adores the bait.

604. He that goeth farre hath many encounters.

605. Every bee's honey is sweet.

606. The slothfull is the servant of the counters.

607. Wisdome hath one foot on land and another on sea.

608. The thought hath good leggs, and the quill a good tongue.

609. A wise man needes not blush for changing his purpose.

610. The March sunne raises, but dissolves not.

611. Time is the rider that breakes youth.

612. The wine in the bottell doth not quench thirst.

613. The sight of a man hath the force of a lyon.

614. An examin'd enterprise goes on boldly.

615. In every art it is good to have a master.

616. In every countrey dogges bite.

617. In every countrey the sun rises in the morning.

618. A noble plant suites not with a stubborne ground.

619. You may bring a horse to the river, but he will drinke when and what he pleaseth.

620. Before you make a friend eate a bushell of salt with him.

621. Speake fitly, or be silent wisely.

622. Skill and confidence are an unconquered army.

623. I was taken by a morsell, saies the fish.

624. A disarmed peace is weake.

625. The ballance distinguisheth not betwene gold and lead.

626. The persuasion of the fortunate swaies the
 1.3.30 full.

627. To bee beloved is above all bargaing.

628. To deceive one'selfe is very easie.

629. The reasons of the poore weigh not.

630. Perversenes makes one squint-ey'd.

631. The seven peeces of the world the first is

Post.

632. The table robbes more then a thiefe.

633. When age is beyond it makes sport for death.

634. True praise rotes and spoobes.

635. Feares are divided in the mil-lst.

636. The soule needs few things, the body many.

637. Aske I give thee, but thou shalt never

finde it.

638. Be content.

639. Emptie vessels sound most.

640. Send not a catt for luel.

641. Foolish tongues talke by the dozen.

642. Love makes one fitt for any work.

643. A pitifull mother makes a scold head.

644. An old physitian and a young lawyer.

645. Talke much and care much, saies the S^{er}gent

and.

646. Some make a conscience of spitting in the

1.3.31 street, and others in the

1.3.32 street, and others in the street.

647. Some make a conscience of spitting in the

649. A beane in liberty is better then a comfit in prison.

650. None is borne master.

651. Shew a good man his errour, and he turns it to a vertue ; but an ill, it doubles his fault.

652. None is offended but by himselfe.

653. None saies his garner is full.

654. In the husband wisdom, in the wife gentleness.

655. Nothing dries sooner then a teare.

656. In a leopard the spotts are not observed.

657. Nothing lasts but the Church.

658. A wise man cares not for what he cannot have.

659. It's not good fishing before the net.

660. He cannot be vertuous that is not rigorous.

661. That which will not be spun, let it not come between the spindle and the distaffe.

662. When my house burnes, it's not good playing at chesse.

663. No barber shaves so close but another finds worke.

664. Ther's no great banquet but some fares ill.

665. A holy habit¹⁹ clenseth not a foule soule.

666. Forbeare not sowing because of birds.

667. Mention not a halter in the house of him that was hanged.

668. Speake not of a dead man at the table.

669. A hatt is not made for one showre.

670. No sooner is a temple built to God but the
will builds a chappell hard by;²⁹

671. Every one puts his fault on the times.

672. You cannot make a wind-mill goe with a
paire of bellows.

673. Pardon all but thyselfe.

674. Every one is weary: the poore in seeking,
the rich in keeping, the good in learning.

675. The escaped mouse ever feels the taste of
the bait.

676. A little wind kindles, much puts out the fire.

677. Dry bread at home is better then rost meate
abroad.

678. More knowledge is not good without discretion.

679. The covetous spends more then the liberal.

680. Divine ashes are better then earthly meale.

681. Beauty drawes more then oxen.

682. One father is more then a hundred schoole-
masters.

683. One eye of the master's sees more then ten of
the servant's.

684. When God will punish, He will first take
away the understanding.

685. A little labour, much health.

686. When it thunders the thiefe becomes honest.

687. The tree that God plants no wind hurts.

688. Knowledge is no burden.

689. It's a bold mouse that nestles in the catt's care.
690. Long jesting was never good.
691. If a good man thrive, all thrive with him.
692. If the mother had not beene in the oven, shee
had never sought her daughter there.
693. If great men would have care of little ones,
both would last long.
694. Though you see a churchman ill,²¹ yet con-
tinue in the Church still.
695. Old praise dies unlesse you feede it.
696. If things were to be done twice, all would be
wise.
697. Had you the world on your chessbord, you
could not fill all to your mind.
698. Suffer and expect.
699. If fooles should not foole it, they shall loose
their season.
700. Love and businesse teach eloquence.
701. That which two will takes effect.
702. He complaines wrongfully on the sea that
twice suffers shipwrack.
703. He is onely bright that shines by himselfe.
704. A valiant man's looke is more then a coward's
word.
705. The effect speakes, the tongue needes not.
706. Divine grace was never slow.
707. Reason lies betwene the spurre and the
bridle.

733. The frier preached against stealing, and had
a goose in his sleeve.

734. To be too busie gets contempt.

735. February makes a bridge, and March breakes
it.

736. A horse stumbles that hath foure legs.

737. The best smell is bread, the best savour salt.
the best love that of children.

738. That's the best gowne that goes up and downe
the house.

739. The market is the best garden.

740. The first dish pleaseth all.

741. The higher the ape goes, the more he shewes
his taile.

742. Night is the mother of counceils.

743. God's mill grinds slow but sure.

744. Every one thinkes his sacke heaviest.

745. Drought never brought dearth.

746. All complaine.

747. Gamsters and race-horses never last long.

748. It's a poore sport that's not worth the candle.

749. He that is fallen cannot helpe him that is
downe.

750. Every one is witty for his owne purpose.

751. A little lett lets an ill workeman.²⁴

752. Good workemen are seldome rich.

753. By doing nothing we learne to do ill.

754. A great dowry is a bed full of brables.²⁵

755. No profit to honour, & no honour to religion.
 756. Every sin brings its punishment with it.
 757. Obedience to parents is the first commandment,
 then the words,
 758. You cannot mend an ewe in a sacke.
 759. Give not S. Peter's church, to leave Saint Paul
 nothing.
 760. You cannot mend a stone.
 761. The chiefe disease that raignes this yeare is
 folly.
 762. A sleepey master makes his servant a lowt.
 763. Better speake truth rarely then lye covertly.
 764. He that feares leaves let him not goe into the
 wood.
 765. One foote is better then two crutches.
 766. Better suffer ill then doe ill.
 767. Nought is more profitable then to be a good
 neighbour.
 768. S. Nicholas hath good manners.
 769. The constancy of the benefit of the yeere in
 their seasons argues a deity.
 770. Praise none too much, for all are fickle.
 771. Let the world be as the world is.
 772. Love thy neighbour as thy selfe, thy selfe, thy
 and friends.
 773. Nought is more profitable then to be a good
 neighbour.
 774. The constancy of the benefit of the yeere in
 their seasons argues a deity.

775. A shippe and a woman are ever repairing.
776. He that feares death liues not.
777. He that pitties another remembers himselfe.
778. He that doth what he should not shall feele
what he would not.
779. He that marries for wealth sells his liberty.
780. He that once hits is ever bending.
781. He that serves must serve.
782. He that lends gives.
783. He that preacheth giveth almes.
784. He that cokes his child provides for his
emie.
785. A pitifull looke askes enough.
786. Who will sell the cow must say the word.
787. Service is no inheritance.
788. The faulty stands on his guard.
789. A kinsman, a friend, or whom you intreate,
take not to serve you, if you wil be served neatly.
790. At court every one for himselfe.
791. To a crafty man a crafty and an halfe.
792. Hee that is throwne would ever wrestle.
793. He that serves well needes not ask his wages.
794. Faile language grates not the tongue.
795. A good heart cannot lye.
796. Good swimmers at length are drowned.
797. Good land, evill way.
798. In doing we learne.
799. It's good walking with a horse in one's hand.

821. Hast comes not alone.
822. You must loose a flie to catch a trout.
823. Better a snotty child then his nose wip'd off.
824. No prison is faire nor love foule.²⁸
825. Hee is not free that drawes his chaine.
826. Hee goes not out of his way that goes to a good inne.
827. There come[s] nought out of the sacke but what was there.
828. A little given seasonably excuses a great gift.
829. Hee looks not well to himselfe that lookes not ever.
830. He thinkes not well that thinkes not againe.
831. Religion, credit, and the eye are not to be touched.
832. The tongue is not steele, yet it cuts.
833. A white wall is the paper of a foole.
834. They talke of Christmas so long that it comes.
835. That is gold which is worth gold.
836. It's good tying the sack before it be full.
837. Words are women, deedes are men.
838. Poverty is no sinne.
839. A stone in a well is not lost.
840. He can give little to his servant that lickes his knife.
841. Promising is the eye of giving.
842. Hee that keepes his owne makes warre.
843. The wolfe must dye in his owne skinne.

864. The cow knowes not what her taile is worth
till she have lost it.

865. Chuse a horse made and a wife to make.

866. It's an ill aire where wee gaine nothing.

867. Hee hath not liv'd that lives not after death.

868. So many men in court and so many strangers.

869. He quits his place well that leaves his friend
here.

870. That which sufficeth is not little.

871. Good newes may bee told at any time, but
ill in the morning.

872. Hee that would be a gentleman let him gee
to an assault.

873. Who paises the physitian does the cure.

874. None knows the weight of another's burthen.

875. Every one hath a foole in his sleeve.

876. One houre's sleepe before midnight is worth
three after.

877. In a retreat the lame are foremost.

878. It's more paine to doe nothing then something.

879. Amongst good men two men suffice.

880. There needs a long time to know the world's
pulse.

881. The offspring of those that are very young or
very old lasts not.

882. A tyrant is most tyrant to himselfe.

883. Too much taking heede is losse.

884. Craft against craft makes no living.

903. Ships feare fire more then water.
 904. The least foolish is wise.
 905. The chiefe boxe²¹ of health is time.
 906. Silkes and satins put out the fire in the chimney.
 907. The first blow is as much as two.
 908. The life of man is a winter way.
 909. The way is an ill neighbour.
 910. An old man's staffe is the rapper²² of death's door.
 911. Life is halfe spent before we know what it is.
 912. The singing man keepes his shop in his throate.
 913. The body is more drest then the soule.
 914. The body is sooner drest then the soule.
 915. The physitian owes all to the patient, but the patient owes nothing to him but a little mony.
 916. The little cannot bee great, unlesse he devoure many.
 917. Time undermines us.
 918. The cholerick drinckes, the melancholick eates, the flegmatick sleepes.
 919. The apothecarie's mortar spoiles the luter's musicke.
 920. Conversation makes one what he is.
 921. The deafe gaines the injury.
 922. Yeeres know more then bookes.
 923. Wise is a turned oord—first a friend, then an enemy.

924. Wine eates paies for his belging.
925. Wine makes all sorts of creatures at table.
926. Wine that cost nothing is digested before it
be drunke.
927. Trees eate but once.
928. Annou is light at table.
929. Good houses make short miles.
930. Castles are forrests of stone.
931. The dainties of the great are the teares of
poore.
932. Parsons are soules' waggoners.
933. Children when they are little make parents
fooles; when they are great they make them mad.
934. The Mr. absent and the horse dead.
935. Dogs are fine in the field.
936. Sinnes are not known till they be acted.
937. Thornes whiten, yet doe nothing.
938. All that is great is full of faults, and
a fault.
939. The great put the little on the hooke.
940. The great would have none great, and the
little all little.
941. The Indians are wise before the deede, the
Romans in the deede, the French after the deede.
942. Every mile is two in winter.
943. Spectacles are Perth's laurel-buze.
944. Lawyers' houses are built on the heads of
poore.

945. The house is a fine house when good folkes
are within.

946. The best bred have the best portion.

947. The first and last frosts are the worst.

948. Gifts enter every where without a wimble.³³

949. Princes have no way.

950. Knowledge makes one laugh, but wealth
makes one dance.

951. The citizen is at his businesse before he rise.

952. The eyes have one language everywhere.

953. It is better to have wings then hornes.

954. Better be a foole then a knave.

955. Count not fowre, except you have them in a
wallett.

956. To live peaceably with all breedes good blood.

957. You may be on land, yet not in a garden.

958. You cannot make the fire so low but it will
get out.

959. Wee know not who lives or dies.

960. An ox is taken by the horns and a man by
the tongue.

961. Manie things are lost for want of asking.

962. No churchyard is so handsome that a man
would desire straight to bee buried there.

963. Citties are taken by the cares.

964. Once a yeare a man may say, On his conscience,

965. Wee leave more to do when wee dye then
wee have done.

966. With customes wee live well, but lawes undoe
us,

967. To speake of an vsurer at the table murther
wine,

968. Paines to get, cure to keep, heere to lose,

969. I haue a little more to saye, but not to you,

970. O that I might beleeue, that I might be
true,

971. Hee that beemes a trade hath a purchase made,

972. When all men haue what belongs to them, it
murther men,

973. Though God take the sunne out of the heauen,
yet we must haue patience,

974. When a man sleepe's his head is in his
ch

975. My heart is full of griefe, my minde is full
of things,

976. When God remade my teares into raine, He
orders the disorderly,

977. When a lockey comes to helpe, hee dothe the
devils like the wits,

978. He that is once sick, dothe die,

979. Hee that hath hunger, dothe transport
them not in full,

980. O that I might beleeue, that I might be
true,

981. O that I might beleeue, that I might be
true,

982. Hee that is in a taverne thinkes he is in a
very rich man.

983. He that praiseth himselfe spattereth himselfe.

984. He that is a master must serve Another.

985. He that is surprized with the first frost feeles
it all the winter after.

986. Hee a beast doth die that hath done no good
to his country.

987. He that followes the lord hopes to goe before.

988. He that dies without the company of good
men puts not himselfe into a good way.

989. Who hath no head needes no hatt.³⁴

990. Who hath no hast in his businesse, moun-
taines to him seeme valleys.

991. Speake not of my debts, unlesse you mean to
pay them.

992. He that is not in the warres is not out of
danger.

993. He that gives me small gifts would have me
live.

994. He that is his owne counsellor knowes nothing
sure but what he hath laid out.

995. He that hath lands hath quarrells.

996. Hee that goes to bed thirsty riseth healthy.

997. Who will make a doore of gold must knock
a mile every day.

998. A trade is better then service.

999. Hee that lives in hope danceth without musick.

1019. Every one is a master and servant.
 1020. A piece of a church-yard fits every body.
 1021. One month³⁵ doth nothing without another.
 1022. A master of straw eates a servant of steel.
 1023. An old cat sports not with her prey.
 1024. A woman conceales what shee knowes not.
 1025. He that wipes the childe's nose kisseth the
 mother's cheek.³⁶

[Gentility is nothing but ancient riches.
 To go where the king goes afoot ; *i.e.* to the stool.
 To go upon the Franciscans' hackney ; *i.e.* on foot.
 Amiens was taken by the fox and retaken by the
 lion.

After death the doctor.
 Ready mony is a ready medicine.
 It is the philosophy of the distaff.
 It is a sheep of Beery,³⁷ it is marked on the nose ;
 applyed to those that have a blow.

To build castles in Spain.
 An idle youth, a needy age.
 Silke doth quench the fire in the kitchen.
 The words ending in *ique* do mocke the physician ;
 as *hæctique*, *paralitique*, *apoplectique*, *lethargique*.

He that trusts much obliges much, says the Spaniard.

He that thinks amiss concludes worse.

A man would live in Italy (a place of pleasure), but
 he would chuse to dy in Spain, where they say the
 Catholick religion is professed with greatest strictness.

It's a dangerous fire begins in the bed-straw.

Covetousnesse breaks the bag.

Fear keepes and looks to the vineyard, and not the owner.

The noise is greater then the nuts.

Two sparrows on one ear of corn make an ill agreement.

The world is nowadayes, God save the conquerour.

Unsound minds, like unsound bodies, if you feed you poyson.

Not only ought fortune to be pictured on a wheel, but everything else in this world.

All covet, all lose.

Better is one *Accipe* then twice to say *Dabo tibi*.

An asse endures his burden, but not more then his burden.

Threatned men eat bread, says the Spaniard.

The beades⁴⁰ in the hand and the divell in capuch or cape of the cloak.

He that will do thee a good turne either he will be gon or dye.

I escaped the thunder and fell into the lightning.

A man of a great memory without learning hath a rock and a spinelle, and no stalle to spin.

The death of wolves is the safety of the sheep.

He that is once borne once must dye.

Such a saint, such an offering,
 We do it soon enough if that we do be well,
 Cruelty is more cruel if we defer the pain,
 What one day gives us another takes away from
 us.

To seek in a sheep five feet when there is but
 four,

A scab'd horse cannot abide the comb,
 God strikes with His finger, and not with all His
 arme,

God gives His wrath by weight, and without weight
 His merey,

Of a new prince new bondage,
 New things are fair,
 Fortune to one is mother, to another is stepmother,
 There is no man, though never so little, but some-
 times he can hurt,

The horse that drawes after him his halter is not
 altogether escaped,

We must recoile a little, to the end we may leap
 the better,

No day so clear but hath dark clouds,
 No hair so small but hath his shadow,
 A welle will never make war against another
 welle,

We must love, as looking one day to hate,
 It is good to have some friends both in heaven and
 hell

It is very hard to shave an egge.

It is good to hold the asse by the bridle.

The healthfull man can give a good example.

The death of a young wolfe doth never come too soon.

The rage of a wild boar is able to spoil more then one wood.

Vertue flies from the heart of a mercenary man.

The wolfe is not contented with the sheepe, but he will eat the wolfe.

The mouse that hath but one hole is quickly taken.

To play at chesse when the house is on fire.

The itch of disputing is the seede of the Church.

Follow not truth too near the heels, lest it dash out thy teeth.

Either wealth is much increased, or moderation is much decayed.

Say to pleasure, 'Gentle Eye, I will none of you apple.'

When war begins then hell openeth.

There is a remedy for everything, could men find it.

There is an hour when one man might be happy all his life, could he find it.

Great is the falling of such houses and families.

A fine day in winter is the mother of content.

We be to him that read but one book.

¶

Take
heed
of

The wrath of a mighty man and the tumult of the people.

Mad folks in a narrow place.

Credit decay'd and people that have nothing.

A young wench, a prophetesse, and a Latine-bred woman.

A person marked and a widdow thrice married.

Foul dirty wayes and long sicknesse.

Winde that comes in at a hole and a reconciled enemy.

A stepmother; the very name of her sufficeth.

Princes are venison in heaven.⁴⁴

Criticks are like brushers of noblemen's clothes.

He is a great necromancer, for he asks counsell of the dead, *i.e.* books.

A man is known to be mortal by two things—sleep and lust.

Love without end hath no end, says the Spaniard; meaning,⁴⁵ if it were not begun on particular ends, it would last.

Stay a while, that we may make an end the sooner.

Presents of love fear not to be ill taken of strangers.

To seek these things is lost labour—geese in an cypress, fat hogs among Jews, and wine in a fishing-net.

Some men plant an opinion they seem to eradicate,

The philosophy of princes is to dive into the secrets
of men, leaving the secrets of nature to those that have
spare time.

States have their conversions and periods as well
as naturall bodies.

Greatest pleasures are belov'd by pros and cons.

The love of money and the love of learning rarely
meet.

Trust no friend with that you need fear him if he
were your enemy.

Souldiers are not to be trusted in the least.

Marry your daughters betimes, lest they marry
themselves.

Souldiers are good as like children and women.

Here is a talk of the Turk and the pope, but my
next neighbour doth me more harm then either of
them both.

Civill wars of France made a million of atheists
and thirty thousand witches.

We batchelors laugh and shew our teeth, but you
married men laugh till your hearts ache.

The divell never assailes a man except he find him
either void of knowledge or of the fear of God.

There is nobody will go to hell for company.

Much money makes a countrey poor, it raises the
dearer price on every thing.

The vertue of a coward is deception.

A man's destiny is alwayes dark.

Every man's censure is first moulded in his own nature.

Money wants no followers.

Your thoughts close and your countenance loose.

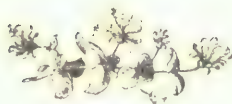
Whatever is made by the hand of man, by the hand of man may be overturned.]

ffinis.

1639.

Imprimatur.

MATTH. CLAY.





NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

¹ No. 18. In first edition *grows*; now accepted from second edition.

² No. 65. *'babble'* = bawbles, as in second edition. Contemporarily *'babbie'* was the more common spelling. The fool's *'babble'* was the *'babbie'* of the *'babbie'* of the *'babbie'* of the ass's ears fantastically carved on the top. The meaning is: If every fool carried his *'babbie'*, there would be no wood for fuel. *'Sea-coal'* was then little used or appreciated; fires were of wood or charcoal, also called coal.

³ No. 97. *'blind as a beetle'* = stupid as a scurvy fellow (Kersey, Ash, and others). Not, perhaps, from the buzzard or bald kite, which, though slow, was keen-sighted, but from the beetle, which is blind. B.

is a kindred proverb: *'Blind as a beetle'* that flies in one's face in the evening. Nares supposes it is one of the beetle tribe, but in one passage thinks it the buzzard moth. Halliwell, on authority of Crayen Glossary, says it is the latter. Probably Nares is right. *'Blind as a beetle'* is a proverb of the 17th century. *'Blind as a beetle'* is a proverb of the 17th century. *'Blind as a beetle'* is a proverb of the 17th century.

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⁹ No. 185. '*Others*;' in second edition, 'Or thus.'

¹⁰ No. 238. '*Mores*' = Moors, as in second edition.

¹¹ No. 291. '*groundsell*' = ground sill, threshold. The meaning seems to be, that one may repeat what is said openly on the doorstep, but not that spoken within the house.

¹² No. 429. '*Escoriall*' = the renowned Spanish palace.

¹³ No. 434. '*spittle*' = hospital.

¹⁴ No. 487. '*scrings*' = pinches.

¹⁵ No. 496. '*Weigh*;' second edition, 'weight.'

¹⁶ No. 515. '*A jade*' = a mean or poor horse, a useless nag.

¹⁷ No. 591. '*prayer*;' so in both editions. Corrupted into 'payer' in reprints. The capital A in Another brings out that God is intended. See similarly No. 984.

¹⁸ No. 647. '*bore*;' see ³¹.

¹⁹ No. 665. '*habit*' = dress.

²⁰ No. 670. This proverb was used by Burton in his '*Anatomy*' and by De Foe later, and by many since.

²¹ No. 694. '*ill*' = evil or immoral; *i.e.* judge not or forsake not the Church because of its unworthy members.

²² No. 714. Fetched from Dean Donne's well-known poem.

²³ No. 727. '*night*;' misprinted 'light' in reprints.

²⁴ No. 751. '*lett*' = hindrance or difficulty: lets = hinders or delays.

²⁵ No. 754. '*brables*' = quarrels: misprinted 'brambles' in reprints.

²⁶ No. 775. '*teemes*' = teams.

²⁷ No. 806. '*Weening*' or wening. Guessing or supposing is not measure. As selling by guess is not as correct as meting by measure, so guessing in any matter is not like weighed words, a rule to go by.

²⁸ No. 824. This proverb, which appeared in first edition, is dropped out here, and inserted later as new.

²⁹ No. 861. We have in this proverb the original of Sterne's pathetic saying.

³⁰ No. 901. Perhaps the most familiar and Shakespearian of all the proverbs of the collection.

³¹ No. 905. '*bore*;' a favourite word with Herbert. See Glossarial Index, Vol. II. *s.v.* and above, Note ¹⁸.

³² No. 910. '*rapper*' = knocker (as of a door); modern editions mis-print 'wrapper.'

³³ No. 958. '*winble*' = a gimlet.

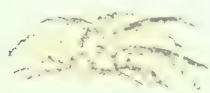
³⁴ No. 979. '*hatt*;' modern editions misprint 'heart.'

and I fear this was the word in a very coarse sense.

²⁰ No. 1725. The first edition ends here.

37. *Booby*: query: *Booby*:

'arrow' and still.



VI.
ORATIONS

NOTE.

The first of the two Orations was published in 1623 (sm. 4to), 'Ex officina *Cantrelli Legge*, *Almae Matris Cantabrigiae typographi*' (title and pp. 11). It has never before been translated. The second was also published in 1623: 'London, Printed by W. Stansby, for Richard Meighen' (sm. 4to), both Latin and English. These original texts have been followed by us, with tacit correction of misprints. It has likewise been deemed expedient to reproduce Herbert's own contractions and other peculiarities.

G.

regionem suam sibi sufficere, neque externis indigere auxilijs atque antidotis: certe nostrate Principe nusquam presentius balsamum, nusquam benignius, solvens obstupefactos artus, atque exhilarans, tumentibus iam venis, arterijs micantibus spiritibusque tabellariis latum hunc nuncium vbique deferentibus, vt nullus sit angulus corporis, nulla venula, vbi non adsit Carolvs. Quam facile sentiuntur boni Principes! Vt natura omnis suos habet anteambulones, vnde pluvia futura, an sudum, facile conieitur ex celo, ex garritu auium, ex lapidum exhalatione: sic bonorum Principum facilis astrologia: quorum aduentum ipsi lapides, ipsa durissima ingenia, meum praesertim, celare non possunt: quanto minus tacebunt luscinae nostrae disertae, minimeque omnium celestiores animi, quorum pietatis interest non silere.

Quae enim vspiam gens, quod vnquam seculum meliorem habuit Principem? percurrite annales regnorum, exequite serinia politiarum omnium; vos, vos, inquam, exequite, quorum aetas teritur in libris: non rusticis loquor aut barbaris, quos magnificentia promissi circumscribere in promptu erat, rudesque animos vi verborum percellere: vestra est optio, vestra disquisitio, qui tineae estis et helluones chartacei; date mihi Carolum alterum, quamlibet Magnum, modo detis eum in flore, in vagina, in herbescenti viriditate: nondum ad speciem barbanque adustum. Non rhetoricor, Academicor, non timio; *Διλογίας* illam et inanem verborum

statua; Scepträger, non sceptrum: æquumne est vt tot labores et sollicitudines Principum sine condimento sint atque embammate? Quid si cochleas colligeret cum Caligula, presertim cum possit in eodem litore? Quid si muscas captaret cum Domitiano? at ille ambuit nobilissimam Austriacam familiam, Aquilamque illam, quæ non capit muscas. Nihil habet humana vita maioris momenti aut ponderis, quam nuptiæ, quas adeo laudant Poetæ, vt in cælum transtulerint: *Εἰ δὲ ἦν ἡ ἐν ἀνδρῶπιος*, inquit medicorum Alpha, *ὥς δὲ ἦν ἡ λυσιγ.* Hinc Thraeces dicti sunt *ἄβιοι*, et Licurgus magnus legislator, *ἀτιμίαν προσ' ὅλης τῆς ἀγάμους*. Absque nuptijs foret populus virorum, essemus vnus seculi; hac re solum vleiscimur mortem, ligantes abruptum vitæ filum, vnde consequimur, vel inuitis Fatis quasi nodosam æternitatem.

Non ignoro apud quos hæc dico, eos scilicet, qui innuptam Palladem colunt, Musasque celibes, qui posteros libris non liberis queritis. Nolite tamen nimium efferre vos, cum virginitas ipsa fructus sit nuptiarum: quod pereleganter et supra barbariem seculi innuebant maiores nostri, qui olim glasto se inficientes, in vxorum corporibus, solem, lunam, et stellas; in virginum, flores atque herbas depinxere: vt enim vxores, virgines: ita sol et cælum producunt flores, qui symbola sunt spei, quoniam a floribus fructus sperantur.

Quod si nuptiæ in se graues sunt, quanto magis Principum, cum, quo eorum conditio sublimior, eo

eloque inniti. Ipse, ipse profectus est, ut ingenti labore suo et periculo consularet, et praesenti reipub[licae] et futurae; neque unius saeculi Princeps, sed et omnium, quae ventura sunt, haberetur. Neque in hisce nuptijs posteritati tantum prospexit suavissimus Princeps, verum etiam praesenti saeculo, dum pacem, qua tot iam annis impune fruimur, hoc pacto fundatam cupit et perpetuam: quod quidem ubi gentium si non ab Hispano sperandum? "*Ὅταν νομιζῇ ἀγαθὸν καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ ἄλλοις νομιζῇ βέλυνται πλεονεξίᾳ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀγέλας ἱστῆσαι.*" Scio belli nomen splendidum esse et gloriosum, dum animus grandis, suique impos, triumphos et victorias, quasi fræna ferox spumantia mandit, iuvat micare gladio et mucronem intueri.

Jam nunc minaci murmare cornuum
Stringuntur aures: iam litui strepunt.
Jam fulgor armorum fugaces
Terret equos equitumque vultus.'

Cum tamen splendida plerumque vitrea sint, claritatem fragilitate corrumpentia; neque de privato agamus bono, sed publico: certe fatendum est, anteferendam bello pacem, sine qua omnis vita procella, et mundus solitudo. Pace filij sepeliunt patres, bello patres filios: pace agri sanantur, bello etiam sani intereunt; pace securitas in agris est, bello neque intra muros: pace avium cantus expergefæcit, bello tubæ ac tympana: pax novam urbem apernit, bellum destruit veterem.

Ἐποικὴ γεωργίᾳ καὶ πέτραις τρέφει καλῶς.
Ἡλιέων δὲ καὶ πεδία καὶ οὐρανὸς ὅλως.

quantum satis ad dolendum, urbium incendia, fragores, dirptiones, stupratas virgines, pregnantibus intersecetas, infantulos plus lactis quam cruoris emittentes; effigies, imo umbras hominum fame, frigore, illuvie, eneetas, contusas, debilitatas. Quam cruenta gloria est, quæ super cervicibus hominum erigitur? ubi in dubio est, qui facit, an qui patitur, miserior.

Non nego bellum aliquando necessarium esse, bellicæ miseria gratas, præcipue ubi velut ex continentibus tectis ad nos traiecturum est incendium: Σαῦς ἐν ὄντι καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου, dixit Mithridates. Sed non est nostri bellum indicare: prudentissimus Rex mature prospiciet, ubi ille signum sustulerit, Leones Britannici (e quorum ossibus collis ignis elicitur) qui nunc mansueti sunt, abunde rugient. Interim curiositas absit, neque eorum satagamus, quæ ad nos non spectant; sed velut Romani lacum, cujus altitudo ignota erat, dedicabant victoriæ; pariter et nos consilia regis, tanquam gurgitem impervestigabilem, victoriæ nuncupemus: præsertim cum futura incerta sint, et nullis perspicillis, ne Belgicis quidem assequenda: apud poetas deorum pharetræ operculum habuere, humanæ non item: patent enim consilia nostra, absconduntur Divina et Regia, præcipue pharetrata, quæ ad penam gentium et bellum spectant. Sunt tamen acuti quidam et emuncti, qui omnia prævident: nihil eos latet, ac si Fatis a fuso essent, atque consilijs, sine quibus ne unum quidem filium torquer-

et intelligentia singularum regionum, omnes connectit : etenim abundantia morosa est et sternax, unde diuites sylvas ac saltus quarunt, ubi aedificent, ac si non gregaria essent animalia, sed tigres aut ursi. Quamobrem optime consuluit gentibus natura, cum paupertatem daret tanquam catenam, qua dissitas nationes ac superbas constringeret. Porro si Politicos audiamus, salus regnorum pendet a vicinis, quorum consilia, apparatus, foedera, munitiones, aequae ac nostra spectari debent : incumbant sibi inuicem imperia, tanquam ligna obliqua, aliter magna haec mundi domus corrueret : hinc Reges Legatos habent statarios ac resides, quem locum Noster suavissimus impleuit, ipse egit oratorem, ut et ego aliquantulum hoc nomine glorier.

Neque alienas tantum ex hoc itinere cognovit Respublicas, sed quod plus est, suam : absentia magis quam praesentia. Nunc enim exploratos habet nostros in se affectus, timores, suspiria, expostulationes, iras, amorem rursus. Deus bone, qui tum rumores ! quae auditiones ! qui susurri ! Deus, abijtne Noster ! miseros nos : nunquam frigidiorē aetatem sensimus ; at quo tandem ! Madritum ! hui, iter bene longum ! Quid autem illie ! sterilem aiunt regionem. Falleris, nusquam plura bona, cum etiam mala illie sint aurea : nihil inaudisti de Tago, Pactolo ! Apud nos agri tantum sunt fertiles, illie etiam arenae. Dij te perdant, cum nullis tuis et arena sine calce : at ego Principem vellem Carlym, Claudym ; siccinge abijisti solus ! cur non

repetent: certe nos te absentem omnes acerrime concitatissimeque desiderauimus. Ecquid videtis tandem quam vtile hoc iter, per quod optimus Princeps non tantum exterarum regiones habuit perspectas, verum etiam suam? Quid si hic lateat etiam Temperantia, rara in Principibus virtus, et cui cum sceptro lites sepius intercedunt? Quid enim? adeon' nihili videtur res, Principem omnibus delicijs abundantem, obseptum, illecebris, voluptatibus quasi fascijs circumdatum, enatare e delicijs, transilire sepes, rumpere fascias cum Hercule, serpentesque interficere voluptatis, vt iter tantum, tantis laboribus, periculis obnoxium susceperet? Quam pudet me delicatorem Caesarum, qui cupiditatibus immersi, aut vno semper saginantur in loco, vti anguillæ, aut si mutant locum, gestantur, tanquam onera, circumferuntur mollissimis lecticis, indicantes se non amare patriam terram, a qua adeo remouentur. Sic pascunt se indies; ac si corpora sua non abirent olim in elementa, sed in bellaria aut tragemata: cum tamen in resolutione illa vltima, nulla sit distinctio populi aut principis: nulla sunt sceptrum in elementis, nulli fascies aut secures: vapores seruales ad nubes educti, aque magnum tonitru edent ac regij. Quid ego vobis Neronum aut Heliogabalorum ingluuiem memorem? quid ructus erapulae solium possidentis? Dies me deficeret (et quidem nox aptior esset tali historiae), si Romanorum Imperatorum incredibilem luxum a Tiberio Casare ad Constantinum magnum aperirem, quorum

quam terrarum, quam Natura montibus vallibusque sublimitate atque humilitate distinxit: quin et venti imperant pelago, ut levitatem illam aquabilem atque politiem perturbent. In picturis locus est umbris et recessibus, etiam si quis Principem pingat. Amat varietatem Natura omnis, flores, animalia, tum maxime homo, cui soli ideo insunt oculi variegati, cum cætera animantia unicolores habeant. Quamobrem non est mirandum, si Reges ipsi quandoque suavitates suas populari aceto condiant.

Accepistis, Viri attentissimi, causas itineris huius, quantum quidem ego homuncio ac nanus conjectando assequor. Quare nunc vobis ex pede Herculem, ex itinere Principem metiri licet, quod sane adeo nobile fuit et honorificum, ut nihil habeat invidia ipsa, quod contra hiscat aut mussitet. Adest tamen anus illa querula, et *παλαιγυνη*, quem audire videor dicentem, Pulchrum quidem iter et amante dignum: siccine pessima? at fuerit: si amor virginis eo pertraxit Principem, quo tandem ducet amor patriæ? eadem acies et stipulam secat et lignum: idem feruor qui impar sub amoris signo meritis est, ad vera castra traductus, hostem interficiet: idem impetus, qui peragravit Hispaniam, si opus sit, superabit: præsertim cum amico fidere periculosius sit, quam hostem superare. Protagoras cum eleganter admodum caudices ligni fasciculo vinxisset, cum grandi atque impedito onere facillime incedens, occurrit ei Democritus, et ingenium admirans, domum

prodite tenebriones literarij e gurgustijs vestris, vbi trecenta foliorum iugera vno die sedentes percurritis; prodite omnes. Quid noui? Quid noui stupide? Redijt Princeps, Carolus redijt, honore grauidus, grauidus scientiâ, cruribus thymo plenis: vt enim vapor, qui furtim ascendit ad nubes, vbi iam ingrauescit humore, relabitur in terram, qua ortus est, eique cum fecundia remuneratur; sic et Noster, qui clanculum exijt, vsque ad Pyrenæas nubes conscendens, reversus per mare, gloria, prudentia auctior, ditat patriam, suamque absentiam eam fenore compensat. Quamobrem abjicite quisque libros; non est locus grauitati, neque apud vos: tripudiet Alma Mater, licet ætate provecior; etiam anus subsultans multum excitet pulueris: Arionem delphino reuectum excepere arbores tripudiantes; et vos statis?

Tantum precemur Deum immortalem, vt Princeps optimus nulla secunda itinera meditetur: posthac contineat se patria, cujus arcis amplexibus nunquam se expediet. Gulielmus Victor descendurus primum e nanibus in terram hanc, incidit in eorum, quod innuēbat eum hic mansurum: vtinam et nunc sit tanta patriæ tenacitas, vt nunquam Princeps se extricet: satis virtuti datum est, satis reipub[lica]. Quod si necesse sit iterum exire patria, qui nunc inuenit viam, proximo itinere faciat. Apollo olim depositis radijs, Daphnen deperijt, at illa mutata est in arborem triumphantium populum: poster etiam Princeps habuit Daphnen suam, cuius angu deinceps in triumphos et laurus mutabitur.

1111.

THE ORATION IN WHICH GEORGE HERBERT

the judgment of a king most wise and most experienced in things human and divine. Back again, back again Charles has come, and with him our life and heat, a runaway and deserter to the long failure of our soul. Why do you boast to me of spices of the East? Why of foreign medicines? Physicians say that each proper region is equal to its own needs, and stands not in want of foreign helps and antidotes. Certainly than our own prince there is nowhere a more effectual balsam, nowhere a more kindly one, loosening the benumbed joints and making cheerful, while now the swelling veins and the dancing arteries and the courier spirits carry these glad tidings everywhere; so that there is no corner of the body, no little vein, where Charles is not present. How easily are perceived good princes! As all nature has its presages, whence coming rain or clear weather is easily divined from the chattering of birds, from the moisture rising out of stones,—so of good princes easy is the astrology, whose coming the very stones, even the hardest natures, mine especially, are not able to conceal. How much less shall our eloquent nightingales hold their peace, and least of all those more celestial minds whose duty it behoves not to be silent!

For what nation anywhere, what age ever had a better prince? Run through the annals of kingdoms, shake out the bookcases of all governments; you, you, I say shake them out, whose life is spent among books,

lately gone through, that you may all know how simply and plainly I deal with you; how I travel not far, after the manner of orators, who leave no corner (of earth) unscoured (as if they had quite lost their mind), in order that they may deck out their own Sparta. I indeed shall not mention to you what has been done before your own age, or amongst the Indians; this one recent journey I will unfold, in which I perceive far the richest crop of glory, by no sickle of words, by no sickle of time, to be fully reaped.

Not some one or single object do great minds regard, but various are wont to be their counsels, and their designs manifold, and wrought of many threads; that if they fail to attain that which in the first place they aim at, they may make a stand at least in the second or third (purpose). Wherefore also the prince's journey exhibits to us a manifold wisdom. First look at the marriage itself. What then? Was the prince in love? Why not? He is a man, not a statue; a sceptre-bearer, not a sceptre; is it just that so many toils and anxieties of princes should be without flavour and sauce? What if he should gather shells with Caligula, especially since he might do so on the same shore? What if he should catch flies with Domitian? But *he* (rather) courted a most noble Austrian family, and that Eagle which does not catch flies. Human life has nothing of greater moment or weight than marriage, which the poets praise so much that they have trans-

are given back : to him alone a head spherical and heavenward-looking : to him alone a face as it were the vestibule of a mighty palace. Now, indeed, that the king of animals may become the king of men, place in his hands a sceptre, on his head and face a crown, signifying that kings ought to excel men in those parts in which man (excels) brutes, in justice, namely, and wisdom. Goropius Becanus says that our old word *knowing*, and in contracted form *king*, is derived from the word *can*, which embraces three things—I can, I know, I dare. You perceive that a king, both in name and in fact, promises something great, and so is not to be fashioned out of any leg, out of any wife ; for it is not of less consequence of what sort any mother is from whom children are sought, than of what sort the earth is from which trees (are sought). Among lawyers the offspring follows the womb, to whom are added the poets, ‘When the foundation of the race is not rightly laid, it must needs be that the offspring turn out badly.’ For, to pass by the education of children, in which particular the mother of the Gracchi is famous, the very nature and disposition (as the conclusion follows the weaker part) generally takes after the mother. Hence I think it happened among the Romans that some families were always mild, as the Valerii; others, on the contrary, were always obstinate and dictatorial, like the Appii. Wherefore our great excellent prince in the choice of a wife, the one

world a desert. In peace, sons bury their fathers—in war, fathers their sons ; in peace, the sick are made whole—in war, even the whole perish ; in peace, there is safety in the fields—in war, not even within walls ; in peace, the song of birds awakens us—in war, trumpets and drums ; peace has opened up a new world—war destroys the old ;

‘ Peace feeds the labourer well e’en amid reeks,
But war e’en on the plain his labour mocks.’

As regards our own republic, the University, peace is so extremely necessary for the Muses, that without it we are nothing. For, in the first place, all this Pierian furniture, paper, pens, books, how suddenly they perish, as soon as the soldiers’ conflagration has crackled ! what will your penknives profit, when these towers themselves and blessed fabrics with one blow of the sulphureous tube, with a single erasure, are blotted out ? In the next place, what have the Muses to do with commotion ! The arts demand peace, a mind tranquil, serene, clear : the groves in summer, a thick cloak in winter : learning is a delicate and tender thing : like a soft flower touched by the rougher hand of a centurion, it withers away. Then who appliest thyself to philosophy, while thou art alleging that the linking of the body with the soul is a hindrance to contemplation, a soldier rushes into thy study and sets thee at liberty with his sword. Then who explores the stars, while thou deniest the airy globe and heavens, an officer

shall profess that he is making war with you,' said Mithridates. But it is not our duty to proclaim war : our most prudent king will timely foresee where he should lift up the standard ; the British lions (from whose bones when rubbed together fire is drawn forth), which now are gentle, will roar sufficiently. Meanwhile let curiosity cease, and let us not busy ourselves with those things which do not concern us ; but as the Romans dedicated to victory the lake whose depth was unknown, in like manner let us also consecrate to victory the royal counsels, as a depth past searching out, especially since future things are uncertain, and not to be reached with any glasses, even Belgian ones. In the poets, the quivers of the gods had a cover, but not so those of men : for our counsels lie open ; hidden are the counsels of gods and kings, especially the quivered ones, which relate to the punishment of the nations and to war. Nevertheless there are some sharp and clear-sighted persons who foresee all things, nothing lies hid from them ; as if they were a part of the spindle and counsels of the Fates, without whom they twisted not a single thread. To us it is not allowed to be so far-seeing, though it seems accordant with reason that we who here are placed on the loftiest mount of the Muses, and on Parnassus itself, should possess a more unimpeded prospect than others. But there is this fact, which lies perfectly open to any one, even though he had but one eye—never indeed can we sufficiently

low or proud mind only to know its own things, especially since all things are not contained in one kingdom. Nature has divided her riches, and by the need of every several region she connects together all; for abundance is selfish and injurious towards others; whence rich men seek woods and defiles where they may build houses, as if they were not gregarious creatures, but tigers or bears. Wherefore Nature took thought most excellently for the peoples when she gave want as a chain whereby she might bind together nations remote and proud. Moreover, if we listen to politicians, the safety of kingdoms depends on neighbours, whose plans, preparations, treaties, defences, ought to be equally regarded with our own: let governments lean mutually upon one another like slanting beams, otherwise this great house of the world would fall to rack and ruin; hence kings have ambassadors, stationary and resident, which position our sweetest prince occupied: he himself acted the orator, that I may glory a little in this title.

And not foreign States only did he become acquainted with from this journey, but, which is more, with his own, by his absence more than by his presence. For now he has discovered our feelings towards himself, our fears, our sighs, our expostulations, our angers and, again, our love. Good God, what rumours there were then! what reports! what whisperings! Alas, has our prince, then, gone! O wretched that we are!

deed, on account of the mighty love for the prince, to whom no affection can be sufficient; but why do men so grieve? why do they fret? Do they distrust the wisdom of the king? Has not this affair been carried out by his counsel? I know that the Spaniard is clever, skilful, very knowing in art and craft; but James is on our side. Here I lifted myself up, and let go very much of my grief, naught of my longing. And in this condition, indeed, matters stood, O sweetest Charles, while thou wast absent; whence it was easily gathered how desperately we are in love with thee, how foolishly we wrangle about thee; so that I sometimes think that thy most wise father did the same when he sent thee away to Spain as the Roman commanders in war, who were accustomed to throw the standards amongst the enemy, in order that the soldiers might more eagerly seek to recover them. Certainly we all longed for thee when absent most eagerly, most passionately. Do you see, I pray, how useful was this journey, by means of which our most excellent prince not only got a thorough view of foreign regions, but also of his own?

What if also temperance here lies hid,—a virtue rare in princes, and between which and the sceptre contentions too often intervene? What then? Does this thing seem so trifling, that a prince, abounding and beset with all delights, surrounded with allurements and pleasures as if with bands, swims out of

pared with spices the bodies of the nobles, used to take out the bellies, which, deposited in a chest, they flung into the river with these words: 'O lord Sun, and all ye gods, if I have sinned at all against my own life, either in eating or drinking of things which were not lawful, I sinned not through myself, but through these.' But our prince, despising pleasures, casting aside allurements (honeyed stranglings), encounters a journey and labours, not ignorant that the flame of life is increased by exposure (to the air), is destroyed by inactivity, and that no one is more careless of himself than he who spares himself. Nay, he puts off the person of a prince, he lays down his majesty, exchanging his sceptre for a wand, that he might find out what advantage or pleasure a private life possesses. Nothing is more useful for a king than sometimes not to reign; for this cuts off pride, puts to the proof the dispositions of the mind, disperses flattery and flatterers, who are always tickling the ears of princes 'as if they were tickled in their ears with feathers.' Alfred, the most noble prince of our Saxons, having entered the camp of the enemy, under the feigned appearance of a harper, and the very tent of the general, and having, while singing to his harp, spied out all the counsels of the Danes, obtained a famous victory. Very well known is the love of Codrus, the showing of which to his own nation, he owed to (the assuming of) a private character and dress. Moreover, there is also sometimes

for it, has served under the banner of love, if brought over to the true camp, will slay an enemy ; the same force which traversed Spain will, if need be, conquer it, especially since it is more perilous to confide in a friend than to overcome an enemy. When Protagoras had fastened together in a bundle some logs of wood in an exceedingly graceful manner, walking along most easily with his huge and encumbered load, Democritus met him, and admiring his genius, took him home with him and instructed him in the arts ; who thereupon from a carrier turned out a philosopher, displaying the same genius in logs and in letters. Who knows whether also the load of love skilfully fastened and tied, and carried easily through so many miles, may indicate a mind capable of greater things ? There flourish with us all the arts, amongst which also are the mathematics ; and though these are occupied in describing figures, than which nothing may seem more futile and useless to an inexperienced person, yet when they have been transferred to practical business, they construct wonderful engines for the defence of the State ; so the same mind which lately has been occupied in the form and features of a face, when circumstances demand will defend a kingdom. Nay, to speak generally, if any one would rightly prognosticate of any prince who and what he is likely to be, let him not regard the matter of his actions, but with what spirit, with what skill, with what force and energy he sets about things ; as in

even to the Pyrenean clouds, and returning over the sea increased in glory and wisdom, enriches his fatherland, makes up for his absence with usury. Wherefore throw away your books, every one of you: there is no room for seriousness, not even amongst you; Alma Mater will dance, though advanced in years: even an old woman jumping up and down may raise a good deal of dust. Arion brought home on a dolphin was welcomed by the trees dancing: and do *you* stand still!

Only let us pray the eternal God that our most excellent prince may plan no second journeys: hereafter let him restrain himself within his fatherland, from whose tight embraces he shall never disentangle himself. William the Conqueror, when first about to descend from his ships upon this land, fell into the mud, which intimated that he was going to remain here: I pray that even now so great may be the tenacity of his fatherland, that our prince may never extricate himself. Enough has been given to virtue, enough to the State. But if it is necessary that he should leave his fatherland again, having now found out the way, let him do it (once for all) in his quickly-approaching journey. Apollo of old, laying aside his beams, fell desperately in love with Daphne; but she was changed into the tree which belongs to those who triumph. Our prince also had his Daphne, whose love-path with will be changed into triumphs and laurels.

We, indeed, O Demetri, have now travell'd a long time with the prince, till we've arriv'd at this house, where, under its shade, we may rest awhile: especially until that cloud passes away, which is our sins: our not liberts, for here we are so much reviv'd, nor do we know how to live.

OUT

Ivy and hee goe p. 100. but as he

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ORATIO DOMINI GEORGI HERBERTI

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exuentes os illud, et supercilium quibus caperatam severiorem philosophiam expugnare novimus, quicquid hilare est, letum, ac iubens, vestram in gratiam amplectimur. Quid enim jucundius accidere potest, quam ut ministri Regis catholici ad nos accedant? cujus ingens gloria aequè rotunda est atq. ipse orbis: qui utrasque Indias Hispania sua quasi modo connectens, nullas metas laudum, nullas Herculeas columnas, quas jam olim possidet, agnoscit. Jamdudum nos omnes, nostrumq. regnum gestimus fieri participes ejus sanguinis, qui tantos spiritus solet infundere. Et quod observatione cum primis dignum est, quo magis amore coalescamus, utraq. gens Hispanica, Britannica, colimus Jacobum. Jacobus tutelar divus est utriq. nostrum; ut satis intelligatis, Excellentias vestras tanto chariores esse, cum eo sitis ordine atque habitu, quo nos in hoc regno omnes esse gloriamur. Quin et Serenissimæ Principis Isabellæ laudes, virtutesq., vicinum fretum quotidie transnatantes, litora nostra atq. aures mire circumsonant. Necesse est autem vt felicitas tantorum Principum etiam in ministros redundet, quorum in eligendis illis judicium jampridem apparet. Quare, excellentissimi, splendidissimi Domini, cum tanti sitis et in principibus vestris et in vobismetipsis, veremur ne nihil hic sit, quod magnitudini presentie vestre respondeat. Quis enim apud nos splendor aut rerum aut vestium? quæ rutilatio? Certe, cum duplex fulgor sit, qui mundi oculos perstringat, nos tam defecimus

and gracious aspects: and wee also, putting off that countenance and gravitie by which we well know how to convince the sterne and more austere sort of philosophie, for respect to you, embrace all that is cheerefull, joyous, pleasing: for what could haue happened more pleasing to vs then the accesse of the officers of the catholike King, whose exceeding glory is equally round with the world it self? who, tying as with a knot both Indias to his Spaine, knowes no limits of his praise; no, not as in past ages those pillars of Hercules. Long since all we and our whole kingdom exult with ioy to bee vnitied with that bloud which vseth to infuse so great and worthie spirits. And that which first deserveth our obseruation, to the end wee might the more by loue grow on, both the Spanish and Brittish nation serue and worship Iames. Iames is the protecting saint vnto vs both, that you may well conceiue your Excellencies to bee more deare vnto vs, in that you are of the same order and habit* of which wee all in this kingdome glorie to be. The praises also and vertues of the most renowned Princesse Isabel, passing daily our neighboring sea, wondrously sound through all our coasts and eares. And necessarily must the felicitie of so great princes redound also to these seruants, in the choice of whom their iudgement hath neuer new appeare. Wherefore, most excellent,

* The albion is to the orders and habits of the different religious, as St. Benedict's, &c. G.

most illustrious Lords, since you are so great both in your princes and your selves, wee durst feare that there is nothing here answerable to the greatness of your presence; for amongst vs what glorious shew is there, either of garments or of anything else? what splendor? Surely, since there is a two-fold brightness* which dazeleth the eyes of men, we haue as much faul'd as your Excellencies doe exceed in both. But yet the arts in quietnes and silence here are reuerend; here is tranquillitie, repose, peace, with all but booke-wormes, perpetual plenty; but when your Excellencies appeare, Yet doe not you contemne these our slight glories, which wee raise from bookes and painefull industrie. How could you bee like great Alexander, yndess his towe deliuered his actions? Homer is woe in this age, that it may be reaped in the following: let the first be the care of your Excellencies; we for your gracious acceptance of these poore duties wish and vow vnto you of the last a plenteous harvest.

THE END OF THE EIGHTH ORATION.



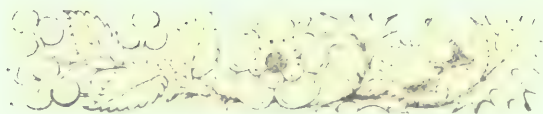
VII.
LETTERS.

NOTE.

By the kindness of the present Public Orator of the University of Cambridge (R. C. Jebb, Esq. M.A.), the whole of the Public-Orator Letters of Herbert have been collated with the original mss. The others—Latin and English—are from the Life by Walton (1670 onward) and various other sources, as pointed out in the places and in the Preface to the present volume. A long and most interesting one to Herbert's successor (Dr. Creighton) is printed for the first time from the Williams mss. These Letters have never before been translated.

It may be noted here, with reference to the opening Letters, that the University entered into a bitter controversy with certain speculators who, in promoting the drainage of the fen-country, threatened to damage the 'Cam' (the river). Full details will be found in Cooper's '*Annals*' *s.c.*, and other histories. All the usual biographical authorities give ample information—additional to our brief Notes—on the various historical persons addressed in these Letters.

G.



LETTERS OF GEORGE HERBERT.

FROM THE PUBLIC ORATOR'S BOOK, CAMBRIDGE, AND
WILLIAMS MSS.

PART I. LATIN.

E. AD R. NAUGHTON, SECRET.

Grætiæ d. Plores.

VIR HONORATISSIME,

QUANTA hilaritate aspexit Alma Mater filios suos jam emancipatos, conservantes sibi illos fontes, ex quibus ipsi olim hauserunt! Quis enim sicca ubera et manuum arentes tam nobilis parentis æquo animo ferre posset? neque sane dubitamus ulli, si præ defectu aquæ conmeatusque inepti deserentur collegia, perire. M. enim, si non totum, tamen præcipuum, aut ligna exvoca et maroida, alumnis suis orbentur, quin communes reipublice lacrymæ alterum nobis fluvium effunderent. Quare plurimum debemus constantiæ fauoris tui, qui retinxi ti sitim exarcentium Mararum et Xerxes rivos, alterosque tantis quasi fluvialibus expunctionibus, quæque nobis dedisti. Quod enim

invident aquas, quas non nobis habemus sed irrigati ipsi universum regnum asperginus. Sed aliorum iniurie tuarum virtutum pabula sunt, qui lemas istas et festucas, reipublicæ oculo hærentes tam diligenter amoves : certe adeo festinasti ad gratitudines tuas cum emolumento nostro coniunctas, ut iam compensemur abunde, neque amplius quærendum sit tibi, *Almæ Nutrici*, quid reponas.

TO R. NAUNTON, SECRETARY.

See note 20, p. 105.

Thanks for the River.

MOST HONOURABLE SIR,

With what joyfulness *Alma Mater* beholds her sons now set free (from her authority), preserving for her those fountains from which they themselves have formerly drunk ! For who could calmly tolerate the dry breasts and moistureless teats of so noble a mother ? Nor indeed do any of us feel a doubt, if owing to want of water and lack of supplies the colleges should be abandoned, and the beautiful dwellings of the *Muses*, like worn-out widows or sapless and withered logs, should be deprived of their foster-children, but that the general tears of the commonwealth would pour forth for us another river. Wherefore we owe the greatest thanks to the steadiness of thy good will, who hast quenched the thirst of the *Muses*, which were

in nos iam olim perspectissimo, quippe qui eximie semper fouisti literatos, eosque cum tineis et blattis rixantes, exuens pulvere in theatrum et lucem produxisti. Tantum rogamus, vt pergas, et inter nouos honorum cumulos, quod expectamus indies futurum, Almae Matris amorem tecum simul euehas. Interim, si qui alii exurgant promissores magnifici et hiantes, qui sub specie publici commodi, Academiae incommodum videntur allaturi, os importunorum hominum auctoritate tua plurima et eloquentia non minori nobis obstrue.

TO FULK GREVILLE.

Lord Brooke : born 1554, died Sept. 30, 1628. Complete Works, 4 vols. (Fuller Worthies' Library). G.

Thanks for the River.

MOST HONOURED SIR,

Cleverly and fitly hast thou done, preserving our river with a second river of eloquence, and overwhelming those drainers of the marshes (who deprive the sun of its function) with the force of thy words. Nor indeed does any one approach to every cause better furnished than thyself or more fully prepared, whether by learning or by practice ; in both respects thou art wonderful and most thoroughly versed ; wherefore to those before named we add a third river of thanks for thy eminent kindness and zeal towards us now for a long time most conspicuous, since thou art one who

Quare coniunximus nunc officia nostra tuosque fauores temporibus et diligentia diuisos in gratiis nostris copulauimus : nam utramque illam curam insignem, tam de conservando fluuio nostro, quam de muniendis contra grassantes flammæ aedificiis honori tuo acceptam ferimus : plurimumque suspicimus cumulum amoris tui, qui vtrumque exrasti, vt neque sitirent Musæ, neque flagrarent : quod si tam integrum tibi esset gratificari nobis in terra et aere, quam in aqua et igne fecisti, non dubitamus quin benignitas tua omnia elementa percurreret. Tu vero macte honoribus, gloria, id enim nostra interest, vt hoc precemur, aut enim misere fallimur aut tantum de nullo vnquam filio Alma Mater, quantum de te sibi polliceatur.

TO R. NAUNTON.

See note 20. p. 105.

MOST HONOURED SIR,

Thy eminent services to us demand a more frequent pen-(acknowledgment). If only your honour possessed as much leisure for reading as we for writing, the nature alike of thy kindness and of our gratitude demands it. But we are afraid lest our letter should intrude on thy mind, most necessarily distracted by so many duties, at a time not seasonable, and should improperly cause trouble to thee, not so eagerly cherishing the remembrance of old kindnesses as meditating new ones. Wherefore we have joined our duties, and we

have coupled in our thanks thy favours, separated by the times and thy carefulness. For we put down to your honour as received each of those eminent services, as well with regard to preserving our river as defending the buildings against raging flames; and we look up with wonder at the huge accumulation of thy love, who hast taken measures, especially that the Muses should neither thirst nor burn. But if it were as much in thy power to do us a favour in the land and air as thou hast done in the water and fire, we do not doubt but thy kindness would run through all the elements. Do thou indeed go on and prosper in honours and glory; for it concerns us to pray for this; for either we are wretchedly deceived, or never concerning any son of *Caesar*. Alas! *Marcus*! *Caesar*! *Caesar*! *Caesar*! concerning thee.

4. GRATULATIO DE MARCHONATI AD BECKINGH. C.

Caesaribus.

ILLUSTRISSIMO DOMINO,

Æquid inter tot glorie titulos equat, vndique mirabiles meministi Magistrum te esse Artium? an inter honos principis, hedere nostræ ambitionis locus est? Hunc quidem gradum pignus habes amoris nostri, hoc est auspiciis comprehendimus te, et tuamque acillam inter nos. *Caesaribus*. Tu vixisti, *Caesaribus*.

moque Almam Matrem prosequeris animo: proin vt flumini quas aquas a fonte accipiunt non retinent ipsi, sed in mare dimittunt; sic tu etiam dignitates ab optimo Rege desumptas in universam Rempublicam diffundis: per te illucet nobis Jacobus noster. Tu aperis illum populo, et cum ipse sis in summa arbore altera manuprehendis Regem, alteram nobis ad radices harentibus porrigis. Quare, meritissime Marchio, tuam gloriam censem nostram, et in honoribus tuis nostro bono gratulamur; quanquam quem alium fructum potuimus expectare ab eo in quem favor regius, nostra vota virtutes tantæ confluxerunt: inter quæ etiam certamen oritur et pia contentio, vtrum gratia Principis virtutes tuas, aut nostra vota gratiam Principis, aut tuæ virtutes et vota nostra, et Principis gratiam superarent. Nimirum vt lineæ quamvis diversa via, omnes tamen ad centrum properant; sic disparatæ felicitates hinc a populo illinc a Principe in te conveniunt et confabulantur. Quare quomodo alii molem hanc lætitiæ suæ exprimant, ipsi viderint: nos certe precamur, vt neque virtutibus tuis desint honores neque vtrisque vita, usquehunc, postquam omnes honorum gradus hic percurris, æternum illud præmium consequare, cui neque addi quicquam potest, neque detrahi.

CONGRATULATION ON HIS MAJESTIES CREATION EARL
OF BUCKINGHAM.

*The Buckingham of history, born 1592, died 1642.
Second Essay, in Vol. II, on Herbert's secret admirer, p. 111.*

My lord, I am glad

Dost thou, and art so many titles, thy country
thly beed on every side, remember that thou art a *subject*
of Arts?—On and the hands of equitie is there room
for our envying thy?—Thy degree thou dost hold as
the plebe of our day. This is the handle by which
we grasp thee, and thou, an eagle, wilt now elude us,
honours flying out of our sight, we end thee back. Thou
in turn dost make us admiring, and hold, and with most

riches, which receive waters from a fountain, do not
themselves retain them, but send them down to the
seas; so thou also dost diffuse the benefits derived from
our most excellent King, over the whole commonwealth.
Through thee our James shines upon us; thou dost dis-
play him to the people, and inasmuch as thou thyself
art on the top of the tree, with one hand thou dost lay
hold upon the King, and the other thou dost stretch
out to encompassing to the roots. Wherefore, most de-
serving Murrill, thy glory we account our own, and in
thy *honour* we are content to be *honoured*, and in
thy *honour* we are content to be *honoured*.

whom the royal favour, our prayers, and such great virtues converged? amid which things a strife even arises and a pious contest, whether the grace of the prince surpassed thy virtues, or our prayers the grace of the prince, or thy virtues both our prayers and the prince's grace. Surely, as straight lines, although by different ways, nevertheless all hasten to the centre; so diverse felicities on this side from the people, on that side from the prince, meet in thee and discourse together. Wherefore, how others may express this hugeness of their joy (at thy prosperity), let them see to it. We certainly pray that neither honours may be wanting to thy merits, nor life to both, even until after thou hast run through all degrees of honours here, thou mayst attain to that everlasting reward, to which nothing can be added, and from which nothing can be taken away.

5. AD F. BACON, CANCELL.

Gratiæ de Institutionis Libro Academiæ donato.

4 Nov. 1620.

ILLUSTRISSIME DOMINE.

Prolem tuam suavissimam, nuper in lucem publicam, nostramque præsertim, editam, non gremio solum (quod innuis), sed et ambabus vlnis osculisque, ei ætati debitis, excipientes, protinus tanquam nobilem

Exiit Deus ut quos profectus feceris in sphaera Nature, facias etiam in Gratiae: utque mature absolvas quae complexus es animo, ad eius gloriam, Reipublicae emolumentum, aeternitatem nominis tui subsidiumque, Magnificientiae tuae devotissimorum Procancellarii reliq.

TO FRANCIS BACON, LORD CHANCELLOR.

Thanks for his Book of 'Instauratio' presented to the University.

See the Poems to and in memory of Bacon in Vol. II. pp. 159-166. York House was Bacon's town residence. G.

Nov. 4, 1620.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD,

Thy most delightful progeny lately brought forth to the public sight, and to ours especially, we, welcoming not with our bosom alone (as thou hintest), but with both our arms and with the kisses due to that age, proclaim forthwith, as a nobleman's son (according to our custom*), a Master of Arts. For this is admirably fitting for thy offspring, which is the first to point out new regions of sciences and lands unknown to the ancients, from which thou hast gained a more illustrious name than the discoverers of a new world have acquired. They have discovered land, the

* A nobleman's son at Cambridge was made M.A. as soon as he had passed the examination for B.A. degree, instead of waiting three years for it. G.

thou hast made in the sphere of nature, thou mayst also make in that of grace, and that in due time thou mayst complete the things which thou hast embraced in mind to His glory, the advantage of the commonwealth, and the eternity and benefit of thy own name. On behalf of those most devoted to thy magnificence, the Vice-Chancellor and the rest.

G. AD T. COVENTRY, ATTORN.

Cognitor, Gratulatio.

29 Jan. 1620.

CLARISSIME VIR.

Permitte vt nos etiam in prædam partemque tecum veniamus : neque enim sic effugies cum honoribus, quin lætitia nostra te assequetur : certe non diu est ex quo gratulati sumus tibi : ecce nunc altera occasio, adeo festinat virtus tua : quod si tertia detur et quarta, paratos nos habebis ad gratulationem, vt sic vna opera vtriusque reipublicæ calculum et ciuilis et literariæ adipiscaris. Tu vero promptitudinem amoris nostri non passim expositam boni consulas, curesque vt tuus in nos amor antehac satis perspectus, nunc cum honore geminetur. Quod si forense quippiam nos spectans, dum incumbis muneri occurrat, nos chartis et æternitate occupatos, temporariis hisce negotiis libera. Haud frustra impendes operam nobis, omnia fauorum tuorum momenta apiceque perpensis et compensaturis.

to be contented with such a trifling and temporary compensation. Not in vain will they bestow treasure upon us, when we are only to weigh and to repay each little point and particular of thy favours.

7. AD R. NAUNT, BURGENSEM, ELECT.

13 Jan. 1620.

DEUS, QUI VIVIS, DOMINE.

Tam eximie de nobis meritus es, vt res nostras omnes cum honore tuo coniunctas esse velimus. Quare frequentissimo Senatu, plenissimis suffragiis elegimus te tribunal Parlamentarium, nos nostraque omnia privilegia fundos, ædificia, vniuersam Musarum suppellectilem, etiam Fluvium non minus de præterito gratum, quam de futuro supplicem, integerrimæ tuæ fidei commendantes. Magna est hæc, neque quotidiane virtutis provincia gerere personam Academiae, omniumque Artium molem et pondus sustinere: sed perspectissimus tuis in nos amor, præstantissimæque animi dotes effecerunt, vt Alma Mater libentissime caput reclinat in tuo sinu, oculusque Reipub. postquam circumspiciens reperisset te, quasi in tuis palpebris acquiescat. Quare nos omnes ad prudentiæ eloquentiæque tuæ præsidium festinantes excipe: Antiquitas præripuit tibi gloriam, Antiquitas Aquilentiæ, reliquit conservandæ. Denique, vt tibi et concedat ut terrestres tui honores cum celestibus certent et superentur.

S. GRATULATIO AD MOUNTAEG. THESAURAR.

18 Dec. 1620.

ILLUSTRISIME DOMINE.

Pendulam hanc dignitatem diu expectantem magnas aliquas virtutes tandem meritis tuis votisque nostris conspirantibus obtinuisti. Quis enim rectius Thesauris Regis præfici possit, quam qui justitiam prius tanto cum honore atque acclamatione administrans, distribuendi modum omnem rationemque callet? Et licet, quo proprior sis Regi, eo videaris nobis remotior, confidimus tamen ut arbores quanto altius crescunt, tanto etiam altius agunt radices: sic merita tua ita ascensura, ut eorum vis et virtus ad nos descendat. Quare summe gratulamur tibi de nouo hoc cumulo honorum, qui tamen votis nostris nondum respondent. Ea est enim pertinacia desideriorum nostrorum, atque immortalitas, ut semper post novas dignitates, alias tibi quærant et moliantur. Nimirum id assecuta sunt merita tua maxima, ut Almam Matrem spe noua gravidam semper atque prægnante effecerint. Tantum quocunque Domine ascendas, sume tecum amorem illum quo soles beare

Amplitudini tuæ devotissimos

PROCANCELLARIUM. REL.

deserts have attained this (result), that they have made Alma Mater to be always teeming with new hope. Only, sir, whithersoever thou mayst ascend, take with thee that love with which thou art wont to make happy

Thy Highness's most devoted,

THE VICE CHANCELLOR AND THE REST.

9. GRATULATIO AD HEATH, SOLLICITOR-PROCURATOR.

29 Jan. 1620.

VIR DIGNISSIME,

Sic a natura comparatum est, ignis et virtus semper ascendunt, vtriusque enim splendor et claritas humilia loca deprecantur. Quare optime fecit Rex Serenissimus, qui virtutes tuas magnis negotiis et pares provexit, noluitque ut minori sphaera quam pro latitudine meritorum tuorum circumseribereris. Nos vero de hoc tuo progressu non minus Reipublicae gratulamur quam tibi; rogamusque ut quando beneficia tua pervagantur Angliam, nos etiam invisant: ita excipiemus illa, ut benignius hospitium, et erga te propensius, haud vsquam forsitan reperias.

JO. [JACOBO REGI] GRATULAE DE SCRIPTIS SUI
ACADEMIE DONATIS.

18 Maii 1620.

SERENISSIME DOMINE NOSTER, JACOBE INVICTISSIME.

Equid inter tantas mundi trepidationes nobis et Musis vacas? O prudentiam incomparabilem, quæ eodem vultu et moderatur mundum et nos respicit. Circumspice, si placet, terrarum reges; mutus est mundus vniuersus; vestra solum dextra (quamvis a scriptione terrestribusque istis sublimitate solii asserta) vita et actione orbem vegetat. Angustior erat Scotia, quam ut pennas nido plene explicare posses: quid tu inde? Britannicas insulas omnes occupasti: hoc etiam imperium tenuius est quam pro amplitudine virtutumstrarum: nunc itaque Liber hic vester dilatat pomeria, summouet Oceanum ambientem, adeo vt qui non subjiuntur ditioni, eruditioni vestre obtemperent: per hunc imperas orbi vniuerso, victoriaeque gloriam absque crudelitate effusi sanguinis delibas. Hæc vestra spolia, actosque ex orbe triumphos communicas cum Alma Matre, vtrumque splendorem cum beneficio nostro coniungis: sane, gestabaris antea in cordibus nostris; sed tu vis etiam manibus teri, semotaque Majestate, charta conspiciendum te præbes, quo familiarius inter nos verseris. O mirificam elementiam! Edidicunt olim nobis serenissimi Reges collegia, quæ fouebant amplissimis prædiis, immunitatibus;

tum venenatorum hæreticorum, insita vi sua liberentur. Quod superest, precamur, SS. Trinitatem, vt vestre coronæ ciuili et literariæ, tertiam ecclestem sero adjungat.

Humillimi servi sublitique vestri

PROCANCELLARIUS

RELIQVVSQVE SENATUS CANTABRIGIENSIS.

Date freq. Senatu xiii. Cal. Jun. A.D. CIO, D. CXX.

Peregrinis Academiam nostram inuisentibus, ‘Quid Vaticanam Bodleiumque objicis, Hospes? Unicus est nobis Bibliotheca Liber.’

TO KING JAMES.

Thanks for his Writings

Presented to the University.

See our Memorial-Introduction (Vol. I. pp. xlv.-xlvi.), and Essay (Vol. II. pp. xl.-xlii. and elsewhere), on this Letter, &c. G.

May 18, 1620.

What!—amidst such shakings of the world, hast thou any leisure for us and the Muses? O incomparable wisdom! which with the same countenance both controls the world and considers us. Look round, if it please thee, on the kings of the earth. Silent is the whole world; your right hand alone (although claimed, and called away, by the loftiness of the throne from writing, and such terrestrial things) quickens the globe

with thee, that thou mightest know the manner of
 thee to be able fully to unfold thy wings from the nest.
 What didst thou do thereupon? Thou didst take pos-
 session of all the British Isles. Even this empire was
 too slender for the vastness of your virtues. So now
 this book of yours enlarges the bounds, removes the
 encircling ocean; so that they who are not subject to
 your power (*virtu*) acknowledge your learning (*erudition*).
 By this (book) thou dost command the whole
 world, and dost taste the glory of victory without
 the cruelty of bloodshed. These your spoils and tri-
 umphs, celebrated over the world, thou sharest with
 Alma Mater, and the double glory thou dost unite
 with her in our hearts. From the most illustrious
 in our hearts; but thou wishest also to be thumbed in
 our hands; and laying aside thy majesty, thou dost
 offer thyself to be gazed upon on paper, that thou
 mayst be more intimately conversant amongst us. O
 astonishing benignity! Most serene kings in old time
 have built for us colleges, and endowed them with
 most ample estates and privileges; even books they
 have presented, but not their own; or if their own,
 they have given them to others to be read, or to be
 ten, published by themselves; whilst yet thou hast
 assayed thy glory by preserving to us, and even
 increasing, what they gave; in the mean while this
 your own praise of writing (a book) remaining un-

ness of which favour so wraps us round, that it even precludes all ways of returning it. For what other hope was left to us than that, in return for your infinite kindnesses to us, we should most surely hand down your Majesty to immortality in our writings! But now thou thyself, by writing, hast broken in upon our methods of requital, and hast carried them away. Art thou such a robber of all glory, that thou wilt not even leave us the praise of gratitude? What do we mean to do, then? In this way at least there is a solution (of our difficulty). We now, being besprinkled with royal ink, will think of nothing but what is lofty and elevated; we will break through all controversies; we will vanquish all persons whatsoever. Now we would desire some Jesuit to be given to us, that by the sharp application of your book we might crush him then and there. Wherefore we embrace, cherish, kiss this your offspring, this second Charles, this bundle of wisdom, placed outside the hazard of mortality, and, that thou mayst the more easily recognise thine own, created at its very birth the king of books. Buildings are overthrown, statues are broken to pieces; this image and impression (of thee), superior to time, securely outstrips the injuries of the age and writings on all sides perishing. For if in your Irish kingdom there is produced an enduring wood, effectual against all poisons, how much more are those good properties to be transferred to the

impertis? Quanta rotunditas clementiæ vestræ, quæ ab omni parte nobis succurrit! Quod si Artaxerxes olim paululum aquæ a Sinæta subiecto suo latissime sumeret; quanto magis par est, nos humillimos subiectos, integro fluviò a rege nostro donatos, triumphare? Tantum Majestatem vestram subiectissime oramus, ut si officia nostra minus respondeant magnitudini beneficiorum, imbecillitati id nostræ, quæ fastigium regiarum notionum æquare nunquam potest non voluntati tribuendum existimes.

THANKS FOR THE RIVER AGAINST THE CONTRACTORS.

June 14, 1620.

OUR MOST SERENE LORD, MOST MIGHTY JAMES,

Your infinite kindnesses to us not only exhaust all words, but even our thoughts. For what effort of mind is able to overtake the rapidity of such munificence? inasmuch as by kindnesses you have put under obligation the whole of our time, in order perhaps that we might apply it more eagerly to learning. For lately thou hast presented to us a book, filled quite full of the Muses; and inasmuch as they formerly delighted in rivers, now thou dost bestow upon us the waters also in which they dwell. How perfect is the circle of your benignity, which brings us help from every quarter! But if Artaxerxes once took most gladly a small quantity of water from Sinætas, his subject,

irrigui Musarum horti, floribus suis sternentes rempublicam, præ ariditate flaccescerent. Sed siccitas anni huius derisit inceptum, et plus effecit quam mille redemptores exequi possent. Quanquam non mirari non possumus, unde fit ut nullus fere elabatur dies, qui non hostes aliquos nobis aperiat: quidam stomachantur prædia, alii immunitates carpunt, nonnulli fluvium invident, multi Academias integras subuersas volunt, neque illi e fæce vulgi tantum, qui eruditionem simplicitati Christianæ putant aduersam, sed homines nobiliores ignorantie, qui literas imminuere spiritus, generososque animos frangere et retundere clamitant. Tu vero patrone noster, qui elegantias doctrinæ nitoremque spirans purpuram et eruditionem miscuisti, dilue, fuga hos omnes, præsertim sericeatam hanc stultitiam contere, Academiaque iura, dignitatem, fluvium placidissimo fauorum tuorum afflatu nobis tuere: quod quidem non minus expectamus a te, quem singularis doctrina exemit a populo, et quasi mixtam personam reddidit quam si episcopi more pristino cancellis præferrentur.

TO F. BACON, CHANCELLOR.

Thanks for the River.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD,

A dry soul is wisest, said that obscure philosopher. Truly there have lately risen a set of men who would willingly render us more wise; but if our river had

been taken away, but that, if the riches of the wealth of the neighboring country, we are afraid they would have rendered us not wise so much as obscure philosophers; for who would visit Alma Mater when she is so dark and so cold? So, when the sun meets this darkness, illuminating us all, and lighting our lamp from its own lamp. May it none the less shine to thee, when it has given light to us; for thou hast not suffered that river, which is cognisant with us of so much poetry, of so much learning, to be interpreted by the ignorant and vulgar. The riches of that seaside region (ocean's spoil and delight) is not of so much value that the watered gardens of the Muses, which strew with their flowers the whole commonwealth, should wither up for want of moisture. But the dryness of this year has laughed to scorn the undertaking, and has accomplished more than a thousand contractors could effect. Although we cannot but wonder whence it comes to pass that scarcely a single day slips by which does not disclose to our same enemies: certain of them are vexed at our estates; others carp at our privileges; others again, envy us our river; many wish entire Universities overthrown; and these too not only of the dregs of the multitude, who think learning opposed to Chastity, but of the noblemen of ignorance, who boldly reiterate that literature lessens men's energies, and breaks, and deadens the springs of action. But this is not our business.

ing the elegancies and brightness of learning, hast blended the purple and erudition, dissolve, disperse all these; especially crumple-up this folly 'in silk attire,' and by the most serene breath of thy favours maintain for us our University's rights, dignity, and river. And this indeed, and no less, we expect from thee, whom extraordinary learning has removed from the people, and has produced thee a sort of mixed personage, as if bishops, in the olden manner, were set over the courts of chancery.

13. AD ARCHIEP. CANTUAR.

De Bibliopolis Lond.

29 Jan. 1620.

SANCTISSIME PATER,

Cum ceteræ ecclesiæ tam perspicaci diligentia incubes, concede ut nos etiam benignitate alarum tuarum et virtute fruamur; præsertim hoc tempore, in quo paucorum avaritia liberalibus artibus dominatura est, nisi humanitas tua* superiori æstate sponte suaviterque patefacta, nunc etiam laborantibus Musis succurrat. Ferunt enim Londinenses Bibliopolas suum potius emolumentum quam publicum spectantes (quæ res et naturæ legibus et hominum summe contraria est) monopoliiis quibusdam inhiare, ex quo timemus librorum præcia auctum iri, et privilegia nostra imminutum. Nos igitur

* Ferina missa.

diminished. We therefore, moved with this fear, as the blood is wont in a moment of danger to hasten to the heart, so we fly to thee as the chief part of the body ecclesiastic, praying that whatever counsel covetousness may have taken against either our immunities or the common advantage of letters and scholars, all this may be scattered by thy wisdom, which is most skillful in the management of affairs. May God, the Best and Greatest, transfer to His accounts of receipts thy services to us, which we are unable to repay!

11. AD FR. BACON, CANCELL.

De Bibliop. Lond.

29 Jan. 1620.

TESTAMENTUM DOMINI.

Tu quidem semper patronus noster es, etiam tacentibus nobis, quanto magis cum rogamus, idque pro libris de quibus nusquam rectius quam apud te agitur. Accepimus enim Londinenses librarios omnia transmarina scripta ad monopolium reuocare moliri, neque ratione habita chartæ nostræ a serenissimo Principe Henrico 8^o indultæ, neque studiosorum sacculi, qui etiam nunc mæret et ingemiscit. — Ecquid permittis, Domine? Curasti tu quidem Instauracione tua, quo minus exteris libris indigeremus, sed tamen comparatio et in honorem tuum, cedet, nostrumque emolumentum. Quare vinice

conceded by the most serene Prince Henry VIII., nor to the purse of students, which even now mourns and sighs. Dost thou permit this, my Lord? Thou hast indeed provided by thy 'Instauratio' that we should be less dependent upon foreign books; but nevertheless the comparing of them will tend both to thy honour and our profit. Wherefore we exceedingly entreat thee, that as thou hast brought so many helps to the advancement of learning, in this particular also thou wouldst afford us assistance. Thou seest the multitude of books swelling day by day, especially in theology, on which subject if the books were piled one upon another (like the mountains in old time), it is likely that they would climb up to that place to which knowledge itself appertains. But if both the number of writings and the price of them grow greater, what bottomless pit of a purse will be equal to such expenses? Now indeed it is a wretched thing that money should hinder him to whom nature has given a spirit fruitful of glory, and that heavenly genius should be condemned as it were to the mines. They who increase the prices of books benefit those who sell books, not those who buy them; that is to say the idlers, not the studious. Thou seest these things best of all; wherefore we commend our cause and ourselves to thee, and thee to God the Best and Greatest, with 'heart deep' prayers.

CONGRATULATION TO F. LEIGH.

There was no 'F. Leigh.' James Ley, son of Henry Ley, Esq. of Telford-Evias, county Wilts, was no doubt intended. He was born about 1552. After filling various important offices, especially in Ireland, he was made Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench Jan. 29, 1620-21, but retired, and became Lord Treasurer Dec. 20, 1624; and was shortly after created Lord Ley, and two years later Earl of Marlborough. He died March 14, 1628-29, and was buried at Westbury, Wilts. The title became extinct on the death of his successor, the fourth earl, in 1679. G.

Lord Chief Justice of England (Camden),

Feb. 6, 1629.

MOST HONOURED LORD,

The report of thy promotion has most agreeably reached us all, certainly not so wrapt up in studies and books but that our ears are open for thee. Nay indeed, we think it to be of very great importance to the active discharge of public duty, that the rewards gained by the good should be most speedily proclaimed, in order that we may all to a man apply ourselves more pleasantly to those virtues recompensed in thy instance. Wherefore as truly as gladly we congratulate thee, and not less all the State, which, proceeding from henceforth in full march, thou wilt travel over with thy benefits. We also hope for not the least part of thy favour, praying that our immunities, granted by most serene kings, enlarged by the most august James, may by thy means be preserved. The same hand has both bestowed on thee thy honour and has confirmed our privileges.

miam adoleri legimus. Tu, Domine, vicisti : tuere nos ita ut fortune nostræ, intra ambitum amplexusque felicitatis tuæ receptæ, communi calore foveantur. Et cum ob perspicacitatem singularem jam olim Regi notam atque signatam dignissime præficiaris Fisco, etiam Academiam in Thesauris habere justissime potes sub hoc Principe, in quo doctrinæ fructus atque usus mirifice relucet : certe, si quantum eruditio Regis profuerit reipublicæ, tantum favoris nobis impertias, abunde succures

Magnificentiæ tuæ addictissimis,

PROCANCELLARIO, REL.

CONGRATULATION TO CRANFIELD, TREASURER.

Lionel Cranfield, a merchant of London, became a favourite of King James I., and, after holding several important offices, was created Baron Cranfield July 9, 1621 ; and in October following constituted Lord Treasurer. On Sept. 16, 1622, he was created Earl of Middlesex ; but two years later was impeached by Parliament. He died in disgrace in 1645, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. — G.

Oct. 8, 1621.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD,

Permit that Alma Mater may run and congratulate thy recent honours, as the progeny of thy virtues : for the voices of the studious are wont not a little to lighten the birth-struggles of glory, full of anxiety for the future ; especially when they themselves appear not only to have drawn from the ancients a right judgment

17. AD LANG. ANDREWES, EPISC.

(From the British Museum, Ms. Sloan. no. 118.)

The final *m* left out in the original, and many contractions, not followed here. G.

SANGUINISIMO PALLER.

Statim a solatio aspectus tui, ego auctior jam gaudio atque distentior Cantabrigiam redii. Quid enim manerem? Habui viaticum favoris tui, quod longiori multo itineri sufficeret. Nunc obrutus Academicis negotiis, agere hoc tempus illis succido: non quin pectus meum plenum tui sit, atque effusissimum in omnia officia, quae praestet, mea parvitas: sed ut facilius ignoscas occupato calamo, qui etiam ferians nihil tua perfectione dignum proeundere possit. Utenique tua lenitas non ita interpretabitur mea haec scribendi intervalla, ac si juvenili potius impetu correptus, quam adductus maturo consilio, primas dedissem literas, ideoque praefrida illa desideria silentio suo sepulta nunc languescere, ut halitus tenuiores solent, qui primo caloris suasu excitati atque expergefati, ubi sursum processerint paulo, frige facti demum relabuntur. Hoc quidem illis accidere amat, qui celeritatem affectuum raptim sequentes, ad omnem eorum auram vacillant. Ego, non nisi meditate, obrepsi ad favorem tuum; perfectionibus tuis, meis desideriis probe cognitis, excussis perpensisque. Cum enim vim cogitationum in vitam meam omnem conuertissem, et ex altera parte acuissem me aspectu vir-

Agenda. Illie constringor debito; hic etiam teneor, sed laxioribus vinculis, quaeque amor saepe remittit: illud necessarium magis factu, hoc vero longe jueundius nobiliusque: ut quod philosophus de tactu et visu, id apposite admodum huc transferatur. Appetit tempus, cum excusso altero jugo, dimidiaque operis parte levatus, ad mea in h[onoris] t[ui] officia erectior solutioneque redibo, ex ipsa intermissione animos ducens. Interim, sic existimes, nihil mortalium firmiori flagrare in te desiderio, quam meum pectus: neque ulla negotia (quippe quae caput petant, non cor) tui in me dominii jus imminuere posse, nedum rescindere. Una cum promotionibus academicis maternisque, assumpsi mecum propensionem in patrem. * Crescent illae, crescetis amores.' Cui sententiae si fidem adhibeas, assensumque tuum veritati omni familiarem largiaris (σὺν τῇ ἐδῶκεν ἡ ἐκείνη) beabis.

Filium tuum obsequentissimum,

GEORGIUM HILBERT.

Ignosce, heros illustrissime, quod pronomina mea adeo audacter incedant in hac epistola: potui referre lineas honoribus, magnif., celsitud., sed non patitur, ut mihi videatur, Romana elegantia, periodicque vetus rotunditas. Quare malui servire viribus tuis, creberrima atque pituitatis lectione tersis atque expolitis, quam luxu vel oculi ambitionisque struma, non adeo sanata ab

to the Rector, most reverend father, so it indies, atque offert
se, melius ergo.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE
in God my L. Bishop of Winchester, one of
the King's most honorable Privy Counsaile.

TO LANCELOT ANDREWES, BISHOP.

Born 1555, died Sept. 25, 1626. — G.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE

My Lord, I have been so long absent from Cambridge, that I
grow greater and fuller for joy, returned to Cambridge.
For why should I remain? I had the experience of
thy favour, which would suffice for a much longer
journey. Now buried in academic affairs, unwillingly
I lent down my time to these things: not but that my
breast is full of thee, and most devoted to all the duties
which my smallness affords; but I say this, that thou
mayst more easily pardon my busy pen, which even at
full leisure can produce nothing worthy of thy per-
fection. However, thy mildness will not so interpret
these my intermissions of writing, as it rather learned
away by youthful impulse than led on by ripe counsel.
I had written my first letter, and that on this occasion
thou shouldst have been happy to have received it, but
happily as those thinner exhalations are accustomed
to rise, which being raised and stirred up by the heat
compression of the sun's heat, when they have gone up
and a little been cooled, and cooled

This indeed is wont to happen to those who, following hastily the quickness of the feelings, waver at their every breath. I, with entire premeditation, have crept into thy favour; thy perfections and my longings being fully known, examined, and weighed. For when I had turned the force of my thoughts upon my whole life, and on the other hand had sharpened myself by the view of thy virtues; going to and fro, hither and thither, I arrived at this point in my mind—that I ought to deem it my duty never to rest, to cease, or grow weary, until I had either found out or fashioned some milky way leading to the whiteness of thy mind. Nor, because I was less known, was my zeal ever repressed; inasmuch as I thus argued: if I am so mean that, by my abundant labours and constant observation, I am not able to tear away some filings from this huge mass of polished learning which is seen in thee, without the troublesome and cold commendation of other people; supposing all the hope and fruit of my studies should have been turned to this object (what would be the happy result?)

‘Why should my life with toil for fame be fraught,
When I may rest in silence here for naught?’

That, however, all these things prosper according to my prayer, that the doors are thrown open, that I am welcomed to some place with your honour, I shall always and most willingly acknowledge that this has so happened more through thy wonderful amiability than any

merits of mine, nay, I shall earnestly pray to be deprived as well of this common light of day as of thy light, whenever I shall cease to acknowledge it. Although, since I am discharging two important

Rhetoric for this year, and of Orator for more years than one, permit me, Father, to obtain this request of thee, that I should yield for a little while to the expectation of men, and rather less frequently dig in the Winchester field, while I have my hands full of rhetorical business; for although I would not take six hundred little properties of this kind in exchange for thy favour, nevertheless I deem it to be a greater crime to be wanting to a public than a private function, and I deem the sin of injustice to spread more widely than the sin of negligence. There I am bound by duty; here also I am held, but with looser chains, and which I have often relaxes; the former is more necessary to be done, the latter more necessary to be avoided.

As I have now finished my Orator, I may be applied to this subject with perfect appropriateness. The time approaches when I am yoked, being shaken off, and being relieved of the half of my work, I shall return to my duties to ever honour me, and abet

the cause of my country. I shall be able to do more than I have been able to do, and I shall be able to do more than I have been able to do, and I shall be able to do more than I have been able to do.

(certainly not those which claim the head rather than the heart) are able to lessen the power of thy dominion over me, much less to sever it. Together with my academic and maternal preferments, I have taken up along with me my preference for my father. 'The former will grow; ye will grow also, my loves.' To which sentiment, if thou accord thy confidence, and freely give thy friendly consent to the entire truth of it (together with thy blessing measured out over and above), thou wilt make happy

Thy most obedient son,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Forgive, most illustrious lord, that my pronouns move along so boldly in this epistle: I could have stuffed the lines full of 'honours, magnificences, highnesses;' but, as it seems to me, Roman elegance does not suffer it, and the antique roundness of a period. Wherefore I preferred to do service to thine ears, nice and refined with the very frequent reading of the Classics, than to indulge the extravagance of the age and the excrescence of ambition, not so far cured by our most excellent King but that it swells and exalts itself every day.

scelens et prae-textatos. Quare et procancellarius Academiae simulans vel maximos magnatum inter eundem summovet. Tu hanc personam indue scripturus, tuumque judicium tibi licetor esto. Dein, oratio clara sit, perspicua, pellucens. Obscurus sermo negotiis ineptus; quae cum plerumque implicata sint, nisi candida phrasi telam explices, perit negotium, quasi ex nubibus Ixoneis congressum. Tandem, ne et ipse peccem, brevis sit sermo, atque pressus. Aliud oratio, aliud epistola: parce doctrinae in epistolis; perorans paululum indulge; ne tum quidem multum, neque nostrae matronae convenit, cui tu es ab ornatu. Ut semel dicam, oratio perfecta, uti vir, *τῆς ἀγῶνης* est, gravis, nobilis, perspicua, succincta. Haec tu optime nosti; neque eo dico: sed lubet garrere paulo. Jupiter! O quot jam anni sunt ex quo vel apicem Latinum pertuli! Et amor alioqui loquax est; uti etiam senectus, quam aetatem in hac palaestra consecutus mihi videor. Proinde audi Platonem: *Δοξεῖται αὐτὸν χρῆσθαι παρὰ τῶν πρῆσβύτων συνδανῶσαι, ὥσπερ τίνα ὁδὸν πρὸς ἐλπίδας, ἣν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν δεῖξαι τοῖς ἐσθλοῖς τοῖσι τις ἴσται.* Tu vero vale, mi Proorator, amaque

Tuum G. H. (*i.e.* G. HERBERT),
(Qui electus et cooptatus fuerat ad hoc
munus obeundum anno 1619.)

ii. Nomas V. c. Chelsiano, circa ann. 1627.

antique and august countenance ; of her thou art the timewoman and adorer. Now if, in setting her off, thou shouldst apply to her crisping - pins, as to a young woman, introducing stainings of the eyes and paintings of the cheeks, certainly thou dost not adorn her so much as raise thy hand against her (proper) gravity. And yet do not thou use a humble style when thou turnest thy thoughts to nobles, but one modestly dignified ; although thou who writest (as any private individual) mayst belong to a 'lower room,' the University taken altogether is one of the princes sitting among the patricians (by birth) and the distinguished (by position). Wherefore also the Vice-chancellor, as representing the University, causes the greatest nobles to make way before him as he moves along. Do thou put on this character when about to write, and let thy good judgment be as a lictor before thee ; then let thy style of speaking be clear, transparent, lucid. An obscure mode of address is unfit for business affairs, which being generally involved, unless thou dost disentangle the web with a clear diction, the business perishes, as if it had come into contact with perpetually revolving clouds. In fine, lest I myself too should transgress, let thy mode of speech be terse and compact. An oration is one thing ; a letter is another. Be sparing of learning in letters ; in making an oration indulge in it a little—yet much even then ; for it is not befitting (the character of) an oration, when it is thy place to set off to ad-

PART II. ENGLISH.

I. To Mr. HENRY HERBERT.¹

FRIEND,

The disease which I am troubled with now is the shortness of time: for it hath been my fortune of late to have such sudden warning, that I have not leisure to impart unto you some of those observations which I have framed to myself in conversation, and whereof I would not have you ignorant. As I shall find occasion, you shall receive them by pieces; and if there be any such which you have found useful to yourself, communicate them to me. You live in a brave nation, where, except you wink,² you cannot but see many brave examples. Be covetous, then, of all good which you see in Frenchmen, whether it be in knowledge or in fashion or in words;³ for I would have you, even in speeches, to observe so much as, when you meet with a witty French speech, try to speak the like in English; so shall you play a good merchant, by transporting French commodities to your own country. Let there be no kind of excellency which it is possible for you to attain to which you seek not. And have a good conceit of your wit—mark what I say—have a good conceit of your wit: that is, be proud, not with a foolish conceit, of yourself when there is no cause, but with a true conceit, of your qualities. And if

only, since it is God's business. If there fall out yet any rule, you shall hear of me; and your offering of yourself to move my Lords of Manchester and Bolingbroke is very welcome to me. To show a forwardness in religious works is a good testimony of a good spirit. The Lord bless you, and make you abound in every good work, to the joy of your ever-loving brother,

G. HERBERT.

March 21. Bemerton.

To my dear Brother, Sir Henry Herbert, at Court.

4. *Ibid.*

DEAR BROTHER,

That you did not only entertain my proposals, but advance them, was lovingly done, and like a good brother. Yet truly it was none of my meaning, when I wrote, to put one of our nieces into your hands, but barely what I wrote I meant, and no more; and am glad that although you offer more, yet you will do, as you write, that also. I was desirous to put a good mind into the way of charity, and that was all I intended. For concerning your offer of receiving one, I will tell you what I wrote to our eldest brother when he urged one upon me, and but one, and that at my choice. I wrote to him, that I would have both or neither; and that upon this ground—because they were to come into an unknown country, tender in knowledge, sense, and age, and knew none but one

who could be no company to them: therefore I considered that if one only came, the comfort intended would prove a discomfort. Since that I have seen the fruit of my observation: for they have lived so lovingly, lying, eating, walking, praying, working still together, that I take comfort therein: and would not have to part them yet, till I take some opportunity to let them know your Love, for which both they shall and I do thank you. It is true there is a third sister,¹ whom to receive were the greatest charity of all, for she is youngest and least looked unto: having none to do it but her schoolmistress, and you know what those mercenary creatures are. Neither hath she any to repair unto at good times, as Christmas, &c., which you know is the encouragement of learning all the year after, except my cousin. But take pity of her, which yet at that distance is some difficulty. If you could think of ridding her, as once you did, surely it were a great good deed, and I would have her conveyed to you. But I judge you not. Do that which God shall put into your heart, and the Lord bless all your purposes to His glory. Yet truly, if you take her not, I am thinking to do it, even beyond my strength; especially at this time, being more beggarly now than I have been these many years, as having spent two hundred pounds in building: which to me that have not the least acquaintance with the building trade, is a great deal. I have been told that you have

fulness of kindred bred up (which generally is very true), yet I care not ; I forget all things, so I may do them good who want it. So I do my part to them, let them think of me what they will or can. I have another Judge, to Whom I stand or fall. If I should regard such things, it were in another's power to defeat my charity, and evil should be stronger than good. But difficulties are so far from cooling Christians, that they whet them. Truly it grieves me to think of the child, how destitute she is, and that in this necessary time of education. For the time of breeding is the time of doing children good ; and not as many who think they have done fairly if they leave them a good portion after their decease. But take this rule, and it is an outlandish⁵ one, which I commend to you as being now a father, 'The best-bred child hath the best portion.' Well, the good God bless you more and more, and all yours, and make your family a houseful of God's servants ; so prays your ever-loving brother,

G. HERBERT.

My wife's and nieces' service.

To my very dear brother, Sir Henry Herbert,
at Court.

5. FOR MY DEAR SICK SISTER.⁶

MOST DEAR SISTER,

Think not my silence forgetfulness, or that my love is as dumb as my papers ; though businesse may

is still true to you, and hath nothing else to answer your infinite kindnesses but a constancy of obedience ; only hereafter I will take heed how I propose my desires unto you, since I find you so willing to yield to my requests : for since your favours come a-horseback,⁸ there is reason that my desires should go afoot ; neither do I make any question but that you have performed your kindness to the full, and that the horse is every way fit for me ; and I will strive to imitate the completeness of your love, with being in some proportion. and after my manner, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

7. *IBID.*

SIR,

I dare no longer be silent, lest while I think I am modest, I wrong both my self and also the confidence my friends have in me ; wherefore I will open my case unto you, which I think deserves the reading at the least ; and it is this—I want books extremely. You know, sir, how I am now setting foot into divinity, to lay the platform of my future life ; and shall I then be fain always to borrow books and build on another's foundation ? What tradesman is there who will set up without his tools ? Pardon my boldness, sir ; it is a most serious case, nor can I write coldly in that wherein consisteth the making good of my former education, of obeying that Spirit which hath guided me hitherto, and

thrift, and yet I am scarce able with much ado to make one half year's allowance shake hands with the other. And yet if a book of four or five shillings come in my way, I buy it, though I fast for it; yea sometimes of ten shillings. But, alas, sir, what is that to those infinite volumes of divinity, which yet every day swell and grow bigger? Noble sir, pardon my boldness, and consider but these three things: first, the bulk of divinity; secondly, the time when I desire this (which is now, when I must lay the foundation of my whole life); thirdly, what I desire and to what end—not vain pleasures, nor to a vain end. If then, sir, there be any course, either by engaging my future annuity, or any other way, I desire you, sir, to be my mediator to them in my behalf.

Now I write to you, sir, because to you I have ever opened my heart; and have reason by the patents of your perpetual favour to do so still, for I am sure you love your faithfullest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trin. Coll., March 18. 1617.

8. IBID.

SIR,

This week hath loaded me with your favours; I wish I could have come in person to thank you, but it is not possible; presently after Michaelmas I am to make an oration to the whole University of an hour long in Latin, and my Lincoln journeyth hath set me much be-

hind hand ; neither can I so much as go to Braden and deliver your letter, yet I have sent it thither by a faithful messenger this day. I beseech you all, you and my dear mother and sister, to pardon me, for my Cambridge necessities are stronger to tye me here than yours to London. If I could possibly have come, none should have done my message to Sir Fr. Nethersole for me ; he and I are ancient acquaintances, and I have a strong opinion of him, that if he can do me a courtesie he will of himself ; yet your appearing in it affects me strangely. I have sent you here inclosed a letter from our Master on my behalf, which if you can send to Sir Francis before his departure, it will do well, for it expresseth the Universitie's inclination to me ; yet if you cannot send it with much convenience, it is no matter, for the gentleman needs no incitation to love me.

The orator's place, that you may understand what it is, is the finest place in the University, the richest, the gainfull'est ; yet that will be about 30% per an. But the commodiousness is beynd the revenue ; for the Orator writes all the University letters, makes all the orations, be it to king, prince, or whatever comes to the University ; to requite these pains, he takes place next the doctors, is at all their assemblies and meetings, and sits above the proctors, is regent or non regent at his pleasure, and such like gaynesses, which will please a young man well.

I long to hear from Sir Francis ; I pray, sir, send

the letter you receive from him to me as soon as you can, that I may work the heads to my purpose. I hope I shall get this place without all your London helps, of which I am very proud; not but that I joy in your favours, but that you may see that if all fail, yet I am able to stand on mine own legs. Noble sir, I thank you for your infinite favours; I fear only that I have omitted some fitting circumstance; yet you will pardon my haste, which is very great, though never so but that I have both time and work to be your extreme servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

9. IBID.

SIR,

I have received the things you sent me safe, and now the only thing I long for is to hear of my dear sick sister—first, how her health fares; next, whether my peace be yet made with her concerning my unkind departure. Can I be so happy as to hear of both these that they succeed well? Is it not too much for me? Good sir, make it plain to her that I loved her even in my departure, in looking to her son and my charge. I suppose she is not disposed to spend her eyesight on a piece of paper, or else I had wrote to her; when I shall understand that a letter will be seasonable, my pen is ready. Concerning the orator's place all goes well yet; the next Friday it is tryed, and accordingly you shall hear. I have forty businesses in my hands: your

11. TO THE TRULY NOBLE SIR J[OHN] D[ANVERS].

SIR,

I understand by a letter from my brother Henry that he hath bought a parcel of books for me, and that they are coming over. Now though they have hitherto travelled upon your charge, yet if my sister were acquainted that they are ready, I dare say she would make good her promise of taking five or six pound upon her, which she hath hitherto deferred to do, not of her self, but upon the want of those books, which were not to be got in England; for that which surmounts, though your noble disposition is infinitely free, yet I had rather flie to my old ward, that if any course could be taken of doubling my annuity now, upon condition that I should surcease from all title to it after I enter'd into a benefice, I should be most glad to entertain it, and both pay for the surpluse of these books and for ever after cease my clamorous and greedy bookish requests. It is high time now that I should be no more a burden to you, since I can never answer what I have already received; for your favours are so ancient that they prevent my memory, and yet still grow upon your humblest servant.

GEORGE HERBERT.

I remember my most humble duty to my mother. I have wrote to my dear sick sister this week already; and therefore now I hope may be excused.

youth and health, who are now so near those true comforts. Your last letter gave me an earthly preferment, and, I hope, kept heavenly for your self. But would you divide and choose too? Our colledg customs allow not that; and I shou'd account my self most happy if I might change with you; for I have alwaies observ'd the thred of life to be like other threds or skenes of silk, full of snarles and incumbrances. Happy is he whose bottom is wound up and laid ready for work in the New Jerusalem. For my self, dear mother, I alwaies fear'd sickness more then death; because sickness hath made me unable to perform those offices for which I came into the world, and must yet be kept in it. But you are freed from that fear, who have already abundantly discharg'd that part, having both ordered your family, and so brought up your children, that they have attain'd to the years of discretion and competent maintenance. So that now if they do not well the fault cannot be charg'd on you—whose example and care of them will justify you both to the world and your own conscience; in so much that whether you turn your thoughts on the life past or on the joyes that are to come, you have strong preservatives against all disquiet. And for temporal afflictions, I beseech you consider all that can happen to you are either afflictions of estate or body or mind. For those of estate, of what poor regard ought they to be, since if we have riches we are commanded to give

if any care of future things molest you, remember those admirable words of the Psalmist, 'Cast thy care on the Lord, and He shall nourish thee' (Psal. lv.). To which joyn that of St. Peter, 'Casting all your care on the Lord, for He careth for you' (1 Pet. v. 7). What an admirable thing is this, that God puts His shoulder to our burthen, and entertains our care for us, that we may the more quietly intend His service ! To conclude, let me commend only one place more to you (Philip. iv. 4); St. Paul saith there, 'Rejoyce in the Lord alwaies; and again I say rejoyce.' He doubles it, to take away the scruple of those that might say, 'What, shall we rejoyce in afflictions?' Yes, I say again, rejoyce; so that it is not left to us to rejoyce or not rejoyce, but whatsoever befalls us we must alwaies, at all times, rejoyce in the Lord, Who taketh care for us. And it follows in the next verse: 'Let your moderation appear to all men; the Lord is at hand; be careful for nothing.' What can be said more comfortably? Trouble not yourselves; God is at hand to deliver us from all or in all. Dear madam, pardon my boldness, and accept the good meaning of

Your most obedient son,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trin. Coll., May 29, 1622.

Collated with edition of Walton's *Life* prefixed to 'The Temple' of 1679, pp. 21-23.

13. To NICHOLAS FERRAR.

MY EXCELLENT DEAR BROTHER,

And wishing I could visit you, I pray to love myself, even Him Whom we both serve; yet I shall ever put your care of Leighton [Bromswold] upon my account, and give you myself for it, to be yours for ever. God knows I have desired a long time to do the place good, and have endeavoured many ways to find out a man for it. And now my gracious Lord God is pleased to give me you for the man I desired; for which I humbly thank Him, and am so far from giving you cause to apology about your counselling me herein, that I take it exceeding kindly of you. I refuse not advice from the meanest that creeps upon God's earth: no, not though the advice step so far as to be given by a man, whom I esteem to be God's faithful and diligent servant, not considering your any other ways, as neither I myself do. I have your Papers, and I like all your addresses, and, for ought I see, they are ever to be liked. (So he goes on in the discourse of the building the church in such and such a term, as N. F. advised, and letting N. F. know all he had, and would do, to get moneys to proceed in it, and concludes thus.) You write very lovingly, that all your things are mine. If so, let this of Leighton Church the care be amongst us, as we have done the care of Leighton M. W.

note] for his part. Now God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ bless you more and more, and so turn you all in your several ways one to the other, that ye may be a heavenly comfort, to His praise and the great joy of

Your brother and servant in Christ Jesus,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Postscript. As I had written thus much, I received a letter from my brother, Sir Henry H[erbert], of the blessed success that God had given us, by moving the duchess's* heart to an exceeding cheerfulness in signing 100*l.* with her own hands, and promising to get her son to do as much, with some little apology that she had done nothing in it (as my brother writes) hitherto. She referred it also to my brother to name at first what the sum should be; but he told her grace that he would by no means do so, urging that charity must be free. She liked our book well, and has given order to the tenants at Leighton to make payment of it. God Almighty prosper the work. Amen. [Nicholas Ferrar: two Lives by his brother John and by Doctor Jebb. Now first edited with illustrations. By J. E. B. Mayor, M.A. Cambridge (1855), pp. 84-6.]

* Catherine, only daughter and heir of Sir Gervase Clifton, Lord Clifton of Leighton Bromswold, married, 1st, in 1607, Esme Stuart, Lord d'Aubigny, who succeeded as third Duke of Lennox Feb. 16, 1623-24, but died July 30 following. She re-married James second Earl of Abercorn, retaining her title and rank of Duchess of Lennox; and died in 1637.

14. *IBID.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I thank you heartily for Leighton, your care, your counsel, your cost. And as I am glad for the thing, so no less glad for the heart that God has given you and yours to pious works. Blessed be my God and dear Master, the Spring and Fountain of all goodness. As for my assistance, doubt not, through God's blessing, but it shall be to the full; and for my power, I have sent my letters to your brother, investing him in all that I have. [And so he goes on in his advice for the ordering of things to that business.] [Ferrar, as before, p. 87.]

15. TO THE RIGHT HON. THE LADY ANNE, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY, AT COURT.*

MADAM,

What a trouble hath your goodness brought on you, by admitting our poor services! Now they creep in a good way, the first, and still they will be pressing; or wishing to see if at length they may find out some

* Lady Anne Clifford, only surviving daughter of George third Earl of Cumberland, by Lady Margaret Russell, third daughter of Francis second Earl of Bedford. She was born Jan. 30, 1578; and married, 1st, Richard Sackville second Earl of Dorset; and 2dly, June 3, 1639, Philip Herbert fourth Earl of Pembroke and first of Montgomery. She is well remembered as the patroness of literary men and for her charities. She survived her second husband (from whom she separated), and died March 22, 1675-76.

thing not unworthy of those hands at which they aim. In the mean time a priest's blessing, though it be none of the court style, yet doubtless, madam, can do you no hurt: wherefore the Lord make good the blessing of your mother upon you, and cause all her wishes, diligence, prayers, and tears to bud, blow, and bear fruit in your soul, to His glory, your own good, and the great joy of, madam, your most faithful servant in Christ Jesu.

GEORGE HERBERT.

Dec. 10, 1631. Bemerton.

Madam, your poor colony of servants present their humble duties.





NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

¹ p. 478. Henry Herbert: see note ¹, p. 102.

² p. 478. 'wink'—keep eyes half-open.

³ p. 478. 'Be covetous,' &c.: cf. 'The Church Porch,' st. ix, l. 1, and relative note.

⁴ p. 481. 'a third sister'—Herbert received all his 'three' nieces to reside with him. See Life by Walton and Preface to the present volume.

⁵ p. 482. 'outlandish': see note prefixed to 'Jacula Prudentium.'

⁶ p. 482. 'sick sister': see note ², p. 103. From this onward the letters are from Appendix to Walton's Life (1670).

⁷ p. 483. 'Sir John Danvers': see note ¹, pp. 104, 105, also our Memorial Introduction *in loco*. For a very sensational and rather unimpressive life of the owner of the Danvers' owner-stamp of 1670, see the following book, 'A Memoir of Charles Montagu, Viscount of Halifax, with Extracts from His Son's Journal,' &c., &c., vol. II.

⁸ p. 484. 'a horse'—the name of a horse.

⁹ p. 486. 'Lincoln journey': no doubt to Lincolnshire, as would.

¹⁰ p. 489. 'Sir Francis Northcote': see note ¹, p. 105.

¹¹ p. 489. 'Sir Benjamin Robyns': the name of a famous poet-statesman, Earl of Danby, whose selected poems having been published together by the younger Downham.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX

As usual, in the Notes and Illustrations explanations will as a rule be found of the respective words. It will reward to compare the same words and related notes in the Glossarial Index of the Poems (Vol. II.).

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POSTSCRIPT.

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

I HAVE to request the Reader to put the following 'slips' right, and to overlook and to look-over any others that may perchance occur. If he know what it is to have to do with the Press, he will not be hard to persuade to 'charity' to our Editor and Printers. In Vol. I. p. 20, st. xlv, is misprinted lxx. ; p. 83, l. 21, insert comma (,) after 'place;' for the division at l. 25 perhaps the Saviour's answer ought to begin with : 'That is all; if that (resignation) I could get without repining;' i.e. freely and fully made, and My clay, My creature, &c. ; p. 179, l. 41 should perhaps read :

'What for it self Love (not Self-love) what for its own sake
Love (divine) once began, Love and Truth will end ;'

cf. ll. 26-30 ; p. 182, 126, Joseph's Coat, l. 3, note the use of 'its;' p. 183, *ibid.* l. 6, for His, query its, referring to grief ? p. 194, 136, l. 1, insert 'away' after 'melt.' In Vol. II. p. xlii, l. 18, for 'Olar' read 'Olor;' p. xli, quotation from Whaley (l. 5), read 'alight;' p. xlii, for Lord Cherbury read Lord Herbert of Cherbury—an inexplicable mistake ; p. li, l. 8, for 'cascoris' read 'carceris;' p. liii, l. 8, 'Casanbon' for 'Chausabon;' p. lxvii, 'Nature's Delight' turns out to be the production of John Austin ; p. lxxv, l. 30, read 'and fly away with thee;' p. 17, l. 8 from bottom read 'quick-sighted;' p. xciii, read 'land' for 'shore' in Wordsworth ; p. exxi, l. 23, for 'Cavalry' read 'Calvary;' p. 88, the cut-off words are as follows :

. ne [terris]
 dab[atur]
 redem[it in aurum]
 pris[um]
 rdo[r]

(see Horat. Carm. iv. 2, 37-40) ; p. 117, for 'perspective' read 'telescope.'
See Note in this volume, p. xviii., for others. G.

END OF VOL. III.

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